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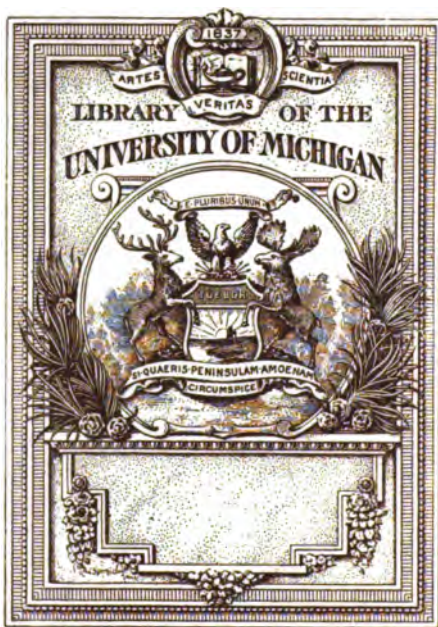
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OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

Statue erected at the Front, Buffalo, by the Perry Centennial Commission, 1915. Chas. H. Niehaus, Sculptor.

BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME NINE

EDITED BY FRANK H. ...



WILLIAM B. EWING

Statue erected by the State of Missouri for the Perry Centennial
Exposition, 1905. C. C. of Newcomb, Sculptor.

**BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS**

VOLUME NINETEEN

EDITED BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XIX



EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE
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1915



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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1915

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Prior to the adoption of the Commission Charter, the Mayor of Buffalo, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller, Superintendent of Education, President of the Board of Park Commissioners, and President of the Common Council, were *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society. So far as accords with the new organization, a corresponding representation of the city government will continue to be made in the Board of Managers.

* Died January 23, 1916.

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

*MILLARD FILLMORE,	1862 to 1867
*HENRY W. ROGERS,	1868
*REV. ALBERT T. CHESTER, D. D.,	1869
*ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL,	1870
*HON. NATHAN K. HALL,	1871
*WILLIAM H. GREENE,	1872
*ORLANDO ALLEN,	1873
*OLIVER G. STEELE,	1874
*HON. JAMES SHELDON,	1875 and 1886
*WILLIAM C. BRYANT,	1876
*CAPT. E. P. DOBE,	, , 1877
*HON. WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH,	1878
*WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN,	1879 and 1885
*HON. ELIAS S. HAWLEY,	1880
*HON. JAMES M. SMITH,	1881
*WILLIAM HODGE,	, 1882
*WILLIAM DANA FOBES,	1883 and 1884
*EMMOR HAINES,	1887
*JAMES TILLINGHAST,	1888
*WILLIAM K. ALLEN,	1889
*GEORGE S. HAZARD,	1890 and 1892
*JOSEPH C. GREENE, M. D.,	1891
*JULIUS H. DAWES,	1893
ANDREW LANGDON,	1894 to 1909
HON. HENRY W. HILL,	1910 —

* Deceased

PREFACE

IN devoting a portion of this volume to tributes to the late J. N. Larned, with some examples of his addresses and essays, the editor is confident of the approbation of that portion of the community into whose hands the book will come. Mr. Larned held an ample and secure place in the hearts of his fellow citizens, not more because of what he did than because of what he was. The Historical Society is gratified to be able to give even this evidence of appreciation of what Mr. Larned was, and what he stood for. The sketch here printed, by the Hon. John B. Olmsted, most happily recalls a personality the memory and influence of which should long be potent.

It is fitting, too, that Mr. Howland's fine tribute to the memory of Henry A. Richmond should have place here. Larned and Richmond were long-time friends, they cherished the same ideals, and in more than one good cause labored for the same end. As they were much associated in life, so now they continue their kindly, helpful presence in the fond memory of their friends.

Much of this volume is devoted to a bibliography of Buffalo periodicals, and to reminiscences and other data relating to the press of this city, from its first establishment in 1811, to 1915. The compiler makes no claim for infallibility in this field; in fact, he would be much surprised if omissions are not pointed out, and errors discovered—after the work is issued, and beyond the possibility of correction. Care has been exercised in its compilation, and a reasonable amount of time devoted to it. Much more might readily have been set down; but the object was not to write a history, or yet to tell tales. The main purpose was purely bibliographical. In its essentials, he is confident that the list offers the best epitome of the subject that has

been prepared; and hopes that the labor he has given to it will be justified—as it will be, if it prove useful.

New ventures are frequently being made of one form or another, in local journalism. The list soon becomes incomplete; but so far as it is a record of the past, it becomes, perhaps, of increasing value as the years go by. That it touches many interesting personalities, recalls men and women who in their day played a large part in the life of the community, and records many an episode in local history perhaps not elsewhere readily got at, will be conceded, it is believed, by those who examine it.

Since the compilation of our list of Buffalo periodicals, there has been added to the library of the Historical Society a file of *For Everybody*, “an illustrated family paper,” handsomely printed, folio in size, which Henry H. Sage started in February, 1871. As the title implied, it sought to please everybody, and devoted departments to women, to children, to art, farm and garden, stockyard and markets, etc. It was illustrated with wood cuts, the art department being in charge of John R. Chapin, a veteran artist employed in later years by the Matthews-Northrup Company. The office was at No. 26 Allen street, and the publisher sought to build up a circulation by giving prizes—organs and melodeons, sewing machines, and even mowing machines—for subscriptions. Vol. I, 1871, contained nine numbers. In 1871 the printing and lithographing house of Sage, Sons & Co., which had printed *For Everybody*, passed into the hands of White & Brayley, who appear to have discontinued the magazine during 1872. It was one of the most ambitious undertakings in all the history of Buffalo periodical literature. A brief entry of it is in our list. Another entry, *Everybody for Buffalo*, was taken from an old record and probably refers to *For Everybody*. A few other slips have been noted:

Page 161: For “James” Stringham, read “Joseph” Stringham.
Page 167; line 4: For “Hurlburt,” read “Hurlbert.”

Page 205: Under *Black Rock Gazette*, for "S. M. Salisbury," read "S. H. Salisbury."

Among periodicals in the Buffalo Public Library should be included the *Bethel Magazine*, and the *Cyclopedic Review of Current History*. The *Independent Practitioner* was issued monthly, Jan., 1880 to 1888. The *Modern Age* ceased with the issue for June, 1884.

The latest Buffalo periodical noted is *Harris Mining Outlook*, Jan. 8, 1916; every other Saturday, by Mark Harris, Mutual Life Building. Bears imprint: "Buffalo-Toronto-Boston."

The inclusion in these volumes of views of Buffalo buildings which are removed has proved so popular a feature that a few more, mostly of recent disappearance, are here given. The pictorial record of the vanished city, as was shown by our "Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," has proved popular and of value. From year to year a similar record will be continued in our publications. The brief notes on page 343 might readily be much extended. Of the builder of the Wilkeson homestead on Niagara Square, and of the family that gave to it interest and significance in the town, some record is to be found in our earlier volumes. In a distant part of the city, the old Vandeventer farm, as it was known early in the last century, has undergone marked changes in the last year or so. At one time it was owned by Bronson C. Rumsey and Dexter P. Rumsey, passing from them to Dr. Charles F. Howard, who for 34 years resided in the pleasant home shown in our picture. A more recent owner was Mr. S. M. Flickinger, who has razed the house and put the grounds to business uses.

A spot dear to many a Buffalonian, but of some years ago, is recalled by our little picture of the old-time fisherman's resort on Bird Island pier, off the foot of Porter avenue. It was variously known as "Hassler's," or "Crimmings'," Johnny Hassler and "Billy" Crimmings being the cheerful and obliging proprietors. Their resort stood on the pier not far from the famous place known as "Dutch Bill's," and was removed some years since by the Government, in connection with harbor-deepening. Unpretentious as the place was, it had its pleasant associations for many a Buffalonian;

among others, Mayor Philip Becker, an ardent fisherman; and, on occasion, Mrs. Becker, as ardent and sometimes a most successful angler. Mr. Wm. H. Maloney, to whose courtesy we are indebted for this picture, writing of the "old-time crowd," says: "They knew where the big fellows (yellow pike) were to be found, and the good-natured rivalry brought to the shanty about sun-down a happy, boisterous crowd, particularly so when Mrs. Becker had caught the biggest fish." The annals of sportsmanship on the Niagara are yet in large part to be written. The Historical Society would welcome such a chapter from any competent hand.

The frontispiece of this volume shows the bronze statue of Oliver Hazard Perry, erected late in 1915 at the Front, by the Perry Centennial Commission of New York State. Celebrations, no matter how elaborate, or how great the occasion they commemorate, often pass, and leave no visible or enduring reminder. Buffalo is fortunate in having acquired so fine a memorial at the hands of the State—and, as we understand, largely through the forethought and endeavor of Hon. John F. Malone. The statue, by the very capable sculptor, Chas. H. Niehaus, is most happily placed: the hero of the Battle of Lake Erie looks out over the lake towards the scene of his exploit, facing the wind and the sunset, and seemingly touched with something of the life and spirit of the Perry who knew this site, and built a part of his fleet close by, in the gallant days of old.

As one contemplates this statue, the conclusion is reached that Buffalo is also fortunate in not having built the monument to Perry which it undertook to erect in 1836. If the reader has doubts, let him revert to the "Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," page 490.

As the final pages of this volume are being printed, the sudden death of Mr. Frank M. Hollister (January 23, 1916,) removes from this community a man of fine life,

who held a warm place in the hearts of very many of his fellow-citizens. His life work was largely in Buffalo journalism. The record of that phase of the city's history, as presented in pages following, is intended to take note only of those who have passed away. When it was compiled and printed, Mr. Hollister was with us; otherwise adequate record would appear of his long and capable connection with the *Commercial Advertiser*. He was also, for some years prior to his death, a member of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society. A suitable record of action taken in his memory, will appear in a subsequent volume of these Publications.

F. H. S.

Historical Building, January, 1916.

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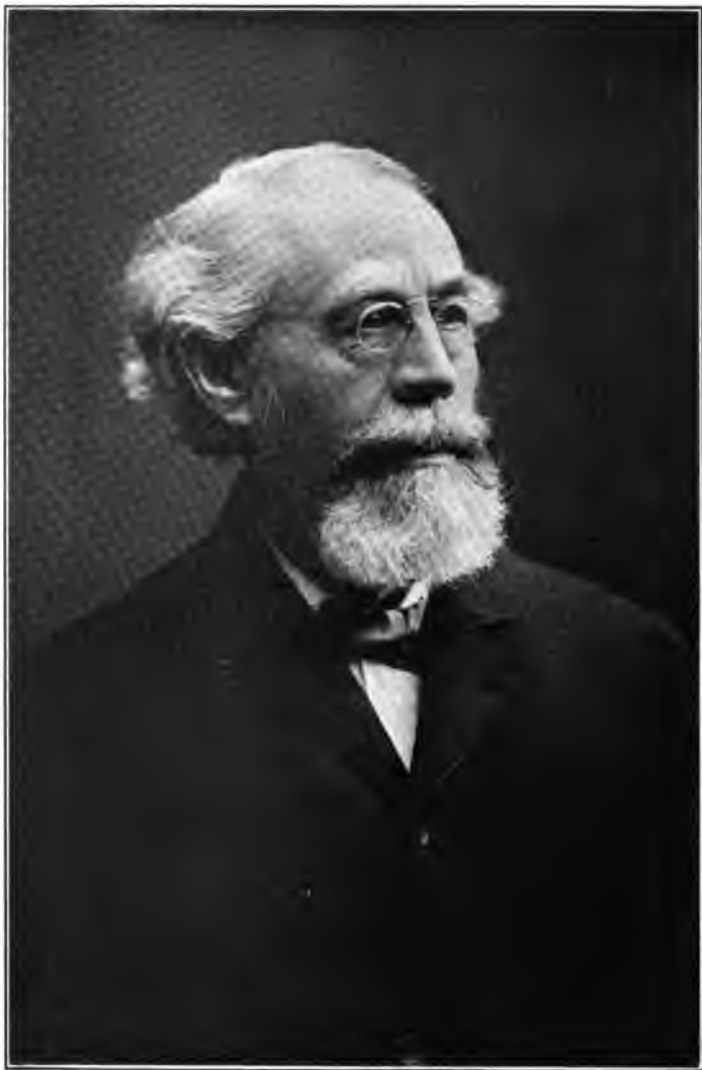
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JOSEPHUS N. LARNED

By

HON. JOHN B. OLMSTED





JOSEPHUS NELSON LARNED

JOSEPHUS NELSON LARNED

READ AT A MEETING OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
TUESDAY EVENING, MARCH 30, 1915

BY JOHN B. OLMSTED

Historians, like poets, I am persuaded, must be born and not made. They must lisp in dates, if not in numbers, and be filled with the fervor of research if their productions are to be found worthy of a place in a historical volume. I must confess little aptitude for that kind of labor, and I have accepted the honor that has fallen to me at this time in writing of Mr. Larned more in the hope that I may be able to picture him in his habit as he lived and appeared to me, than in the expectation of presenting an exhaustive study of his life-work.

From some points of view this has its advantages. What Mr. Larned accomplished in fifty years of painstaking industry he left behind him in the tangible form of editorials, addresses and books—a monument to his memory to be seen and known of all men. What he was himself is the precious heritage of a few, for he was not a man who sought wide acquaintance, nor one who mingled much with others, except in cases where his public duty as he saw it called him to take a personal part in the affairs of the community. His inclinations were to his study and to the

society of his intimates; nor was this from any feeling of aloofness, for a truer democrat never walked our streets; but rather from a fine sense of modesty amounting at times almost to shyness, and a disinclination to small talk when there were so many things worth while which might be the subject of conversation or contemplation.

Of his boyhood and youth I have not been able to learn much. He talked little about them, and although members of his family often importuned him to write out some reminiscences of his early days, the historian of so many others quite characteristically demurred to writing of himself. He was born May 11, 1836, in Chatham, Canada West (now Ontario), the son of Henry Sherwood and Mary Ann Nelson Larned—whence his surname, Josephus Nelson. His parents at the time of his birth were citizens of the United States temporarily resident in Canada, so that at no time was he alien to this country, though many have thought so from the fact that his birthplace was on British soil. He came of a long line of New England ancestry, going back to William Learned, who came over from England a short time prior to the year 1632, and became the founder of the family in this country. In the line of Larneds who preceded Josephus Nelson we find the New England loyalty to biblical names in Benjamin, Isaac and Samuel; and his paternal grandmother, who was born Cynthia Holmes, traced her line back to Roger Williams through the second marriage of the latter's daughter, Mary Williams. Of William Learned, the founder, we read that at the time of the controversy which originated with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson when the General Court condemned and banished Rev. John Wheelwright, William Learned was one of the signers of the remonstrance against that proceeding; and in this, if the banishment were unjust, we recognize the Larned characteristic. In the minutes of the court, however, it is further recorded that "Willi. Larnet acknowledged his

fault in subscribing the seditious writing and desiring his name to be crossed out, it was yielded to him and crossed." Now, if the writing were really seditious and the original William had come through a process of reasoning to recognize it as such, his action would be quite in line with the temper of the Larned whom we knew; but if the recantation was not the outgrowth of a conviction, then I am inclined to think that Josephus Nelson may have taken more from his great maternal ancestor Goodith than he did from William, her husband. It is certain that our Larned would never have asked that his name be crossed unless self-convinced of the error of his ways.

The family name seems originally to have been spelled L-e-a-r-n-e-d, but pronounced Larned, and the genealogists have not been able to trace it much farther back than the year 1600. It has been surmised that it may have been a French name and originally written L'Arned, but as there seems to have been no French name in England at the date of the Bermondsey records (the earliest English account of the family) which could be translated into Larned, the surmise is doubtful. The Larned genealogical book published in 1882 stated that the name is not found in the directories of the present day, either of London or of the counties in England or in the poll lists or indexes to county histories—a curious fact in the case of a name which seems so purely English in its character. We have Wises, Goods and Nobles in great profusion. Just why the *learned* should not have transmuted their adjectival appellation into a patronymic does not clearly appear, and one English genealogist writing to the compiler of the Larned book calls it a mystery.

Mr. Larned's father was a contractor and in the course of his business engagements moved from place to place. In 1848 he came from Canada to Buffalo; and Josephus, then twelve years old, came with him. The family lived on

Oak street—afterwards on Seventh street—and the boy often went pigeon-shooting in the woods near Hudson street. Ephraim F. Cook, principal at School No. 10 on Delaware avenue, took him in hand. He left school when sixteen years old. All the wealth of learning, command of language and grace of style of which he died possessed were the fruits of his own unwearied efforts in self-education. At seventeen he began his business life as a bookkeeper in a ship chandlery establishment then located at the foot of Main street, and slept in a room over a mass of combustibles whose lurking possibilities of danger often filled his nights with nervous anxiety. In 1854 and '55 he was a clerk in the transportation house of P. L. Sternberg & Co., and later with the Western Transportation Company.

In the spring of 1857 he set out for Iowa to improve his fortunes, and the young men of his set, says Mr. James Johnston, were mightily sorry to have him go. His stay in the West was not long and the autumn of that year saw him again in Buffalo. Newspaper work of one kind or another then attracted his attention, and the spring of 1859 found him a member of the staff of the *Buffalo Express*. A happy day both for Buffalo and for him was that upon which he made this connection. It was a calling which he loved, and of it and its somewhat allied profession of librarian and magazine writer he never wearied. To one whose dull brain can only be cudged by repeated thwacking into writing out his thoughts, it seems a marvel that another should deliberately adopt an occupation which requires him every morning to formulate his half-considered opinions upon current affairs and to commit them to cold type; but it was Mr. Larned's joy. In doing it he spent some of his best years. I shall come to them presently, but as a preliminary thereto some little account is due of his associates in these early days.

There was Guy H. Salisbury, in whose praise we have heard Mr. Larned speak many times and of whom he has something to say in most of his local historical sketches. Salisbury was a rough diamond and in his later years something of a derelict, but in the period just preceding and during the War he appears to have made a deep impression upon Mr. Larned. A budding newspaper man is more apt perhaps than youngsters in other professions to admire a certain unconventionality in his chief when it is accompanied by a recognized good heart and manifests itself in a bluntness of expression near akin to truth-telling. Salisbury was his friend, and whatever others in later years might say about him—and some have not been wholly complimentary—Mr. Larned remained ever a loyal defender. Then there were David Gray, William P. Letchworth and James N. Johnston, not to mention others who were members of the Nameless Club—a prototype of the Thursday and Pundit Clubs of our own day. This circle was accustomed to meet in the library room of the Young Men's Christian Union, of which David Gray was the librarian and the genius of the place. Debates, poetry and essays were the order of the evening. Once a year there was an anniversary and the proceedings attendant thereon were transcribed and printed in pamphlet form. Later these pamphlets were gathered up and bound into a volume by individual members of the Club. There lie embalmed orations by William C. Bryant, poems by Charles D. Marshall, William P. Letchworth, George H. Selkirk, James N. Johnston, John Harrison Mills, Amanda T. Jones, Mary A. Ripley and David Gray. Youth is forever young, but I doubt if sophisticated literary aspirants of these days are ever so exuberant as the record of the meeting of October 27, 1859, shows their progenitors to have been.

As appears from the record, the Club went into session at eight o'clock in the evening. Two or three songs, an

address by the president, a long poem by David Gray and an oration by Mr. Larned began the proceedings. The secretary then records that "an adjournment was taken to supper where a bountiful spread was discussed." Then he adds: "At 11½ P. M. the Club again convened at the hall and took seats around a table which was covered with a profusion of toothsome viands and flanked by decanters of sparkling Catawba and bowls of steaming punch." The following regular toasts were then "drank." (I am using the words of the secretary.) There follows a list of nine regular toasts, Mr. Larned responding to "Our Future Wives," and R. R. McCready to "Our Spoony Loves." The last toast, No. 9, was "Lager Beer as a Civilizer," responded to by Otto Besser. When this Gargantuan programme was concluded, the secretary adds: "After the regular toasts a number of volunteer sentiments were proposed and duly responded to, and the residue of the evening was spent in a feast of reason and flow of soul that knew no cloud or check till the wee sma' hours came on."

It is fortunate indeed that some of these gentlemen at least were accustomed to the hours of a morning newspaper. With such devotion as this to the fortunes of the Club it is surprising to read in a later president's address some gentle chastening of members for delinquency in attendance. "On one occasion," says this chronicle, "during the last year there was but a solitary member in attendance and yet the meeting was held, under difficulties it is true, for he had to call himself to the Chair and at the same time officiate as secretary. The Club song was sung, the minutes read and approved, reports of committees made and acted upon, 'A Foolscape' was read, and only the debate omitted for the salutary reason that there was no one to debate with." It would have saved time, it seems to me, to have had the secretary enter in the minutes that

by a unanimous vote of the Club cast by the secretary the meeting had been declared duly held.

At one of the meetings of the Nameless Club there was read a poem big with fate for the future city of Buffalo. Mr. Johnston is my authority for the story. It was sometime in 1857, while Mr. Larned was in Iowa. David Gray was there bubbling with enthusiasm over a new poem of Tennyson's called "Maud," from which he read some passages. Thereupon a member produced from his pocket some verses composed by Mr. Larned on the eve of his departure from Buffalo in the previous spring. These he volunteered, much to the dumfounded Gray's amazement, to put in competition with the latest English contribution to literature. No copy of the poem is now extant, nor could Mr. Johnston ever obtain one from the author, but he has remembered all these years the first few lines and here they are:

It is midnight in the city and the melancholy chimes
Have heralded twelve times
The middle hour of night.
They have done their duty well,
They have ceased their noisy clamor,
And the last stroke of the hammer
Has been heard upon the bell.

The reading of this poem aroused the interest of Guy H. Salisbury, then the editor or owner of the *Republic*. He watched for the author's return from his western pilgrimage and upon his arrival in Buffalo persuaded him to take a place on his paper. Up to that time Mr. Larned's ambitions had led him towards business employment, so it is quite possible that to the strokes of that midnight bell we owe all the grace, efficiency and usefulness of his literary career.

In 1859, he took up his work upon the *Buffalo Express*, and for thirteen years, until 1872, he was a large factor in building up the success of that paper. He gave to his

duties all the freshness of his young enthusiasm, and his editorials in war-time often set the town talking. It is difficult to speak definitely of the work of a newspaper man whose identity is concealed behind the editorial "we." Working for the most part while others sleep, journalists fashion, as it were, in secret and behind the scenes those shafts of good or evil which so powerfully affect our daily life. I have looked through the leaders of the *Express* during some of the years in the sixties and although it is impossible to say which are Mr. Larned's, the high, loyal spirit of the Union cause is everywhere apparent. From the first the paper was for the war, and its columns of April, 1861, ring with stirring appeals to arms. In an editorial of May 9, 1861, occurs this passage, which has its significance when read in connection with modern events:

General Butler expressed the right idea briefly when he said that the Federal troops must pass peaceably over the pavements of Baltimore where the blood of Massachusetts had been shed, and that if fired upon from the houses, the houses would be blown up. There is nothing murderous or revengeful in this.

Strange words, if Mr. Larned wrote them, and greatly in contrast with his later and wiser views of war, but they show that we Americans too have our shortcomings and they only go to prove that war is what Sherman said it was.

Mark Twain was for some time a co-editor on the *Express*, having purchased a share in it. Mr. Larned was the political editor and often tried to persuade Clemens to try his hand at that kind of writing. To protect himself, Mark nailed together what he called his journalistic platform of which this was one plank:

"I shall not often meddle with politics because we have a political editor who is already excellent and who only needs a term in the penitentiary to be perfect."

There came a day, however, when he was obliged to act. The story is told by F. A. Crandall, once managing editor of the *Express*. He says: "It was about this time that Mark ran into the editorial page one joke that everybody understood. It was understood, however, to be a joke on Mark rather than one by him. It was at the time of the annual Republican State Convention and the *Express* was then as now a leading Republican paper. Mark's associate had gone to Syracuse to attend the convention, leaving Mark in sole control. The proceedings were telegraphed to the *Express*, including the names of the nominees, which Mark, who never knew anything about politics, had never before heard. But he must have an editorial on the convention, and he wrote a few lines of general remark, concluding with the statement that 'comment on the ticket will have to be postponed till the other young man gets home.' This probably stands to this day as the most peculiar editorial comment on a State ticket ever printed in a Buffalo paper. It furnished useful ammunition to the rival political journals for a long time, and they never tired of ringing the changes on it. The 'other young man' was J. N. Larned."

In the early days of his editorial career and on April 29, 1861, Mr. Larned was married to Frances A. K. McCrea, the gentle lady who survives him. A long and happy married life, reaching a golden wedding anniversary, was blessed with three children, Sherwood J., Mary and Anne M.

While on the *Express*, in the fall of 1871, Mr. Larned was elected to the only public place he ever held, that of Superintendent of Education. On one other occasion only was he a candidate for office. That was in the fall of 1876, when he stood for the Republican nomination to the Assembly in what was then the Third District. He was beaten for the nomination by a small plurality at the caucus through what appears to have been a combination of the

Old Guard. The better element protested, but the rolling mills in the old Eleventh Ward turned out for Ed. Gallagher and did the trick.

While Superintendent of Education, Mr. Larned filed two reports. The first one, made in 1872, is filled with enthusiasm, crowded with suggestions, and a model of what such a report ought to be. He was preceded in office by Dr. Thomas Lothrop, in whose report for the year 1870 I find this paragraph:

If the people of Buffalo desire to establish a system of education which shall prove a boon to rich and poor alike and become in the future a lasting monument of their zeal and earnestness in educational matters, let them separate their free schools from political influences by establishing a Board of Education appointed by the judges of the Superior Court, or some other responsible power equally removed from party control, with full power and authority to manage and direct them for the benefit of all.

This is the first allusion in a superintendent's report (and I have examined all that preceded Dr. Lothrop's) to the burning question which still confronts us. How Dr. Lothrop fared with it is best expressed by an extract from his report of the next year:

Any work of practical reform at the present day in which long-established customs are disregarded and fossilized ideas ignored will meet with disfavor and opposition until its utility is demonstrated. By many the management of the schools during the last two years is regarded as too radical to merit approval.

With a sigh of relief Dr. Lothrop turned over his office to his successor, expressing the hope that he would have much better success in bringing about the needed reforms. Mr. Larned after one year's experience plunged boldly into the fight. His year's work had given him knowledge and he speaks with authority:

The schools [he says, in his first report for the year 1872] are good, but they might be so much better, and if we want the best in anything, it is in this. . . The chief fault in our plan of organization and government is that it exposes the schools to political influences more directly and with less protection than any other system of public education that exists in the United States within my knowledge.

He then goes on through six pages of his report with a discussion of the theoretical power of the superintendent as contrasted with his actual power, and shows how very little time practically the school committee of the Common Council can give to the subject. I again quote his words:

I do not mean that our citizens are indifferent to the well-being of the public schools, but I attribute the trouble to the want in our city of some representative body of men distinctly and specially charged with those duties of oversight and legislation with reference to the schools which are now mixed in the Common Council with fifty other duties, all onerous and exacting. I know of no other important city in the country in which the government of the schools is not separated from the general organization of municipal government and committed to a board of education.

Then follow four pages of carefully considered argument in favor of the plan, with many suggestions as to how such a board should be made up. He also states and reviews the practice in other cities. "The system," he says, referring to a board of education, "does unquestionably produce a better informed and more enlightened public policy. It does unquestionably induce a wider public interest in the schools and a better acquaintance with them. It does unquestionably bring stimulating influences and searching criticism to bear upon the schools and make them more efficient." Further on in his report he discusses a compulsory system of education and urges the adoption of one.

"If every citizen in a free state of society," he says, "has a right and voice in the affairs of government, so on the other hand society has the right to require that each one of its members shall be qualified for an intelligent expression on these affairs. The rights of the mass in a democratic community are just as positive as the rights of individuals, and democratic institutions are in danger from nothing except the failure to preserve a due balance in the exercise of these counter rights which check one another." So, also, a school of correction is advocated for truants, to which the contumacious and incorrigibly vicious may be committed.

He undertook to reform the teaching of German in the schools, so that the itinerant teachers of German should be superseded by regular teachers attached to the several schools; and although apparently he had the assistance in his efforts of a committee of very representative Germans, he came to grief in the Common Council next year. The opposition was so strong that he gave up the idea. In discussing this incident in his second report he says:

When my estimate of expenditures in the school department for the year 1873 was prepared, by some accident for which I cannot account, the item of salaries for the four itinerant male teachers of German was omitted. This gave rise to a memorable controversy in which more passion than reason manifested itself. I was freely charged with having intentionally omitted the item, . . . but I knew nothing of it until it had been discovered by others. . . . If I had intended to bring the question before the Common Council, I should have done so openly and with avowed reasons, for I think I may properly assert for myself that the mean dishonesty of resorting to surreptitious devices and petty tricks for accomplishing an object is not in my character.

In 1873, Mr. Larned, too, sung his swan song in a perfunctory report and retired, worsted by the insidious

influences of the City Hall, hoping that his successor might do better. That was over forty years ago and still we dawdle and are blocked by captious and interested critics.

The one most valuable contribution which Mr. Larned made to the intellectual life of Buffalo was undoubtedly his twenty years in the library. He obtained the position of librarian of the Young Men's Association in 1877, largely, it is said, through the influence of David Gray. He left it in 1897. When he began, the circulation of the Library was 76,591 books, with an annual expenditure for new books and binding for that year of \$2,519.00. In 1896 (the last one under his charge), the circulation was 142,659 and the annual expense for books and binding \$6,375.00. If these figures seem small compared with 1,641,000, the circulation for 1914, it must be remembered that the change to a free public library in 1897 increased the circulation from 142,000 to 768,000 in one year.

During Mr. Larned's incumbency he doubled the efficiency of the institution, working under the handicap of a very limited budget. His first task consisted in making a complete catalogue, which he did largely with his own hands, assisted by Mr. Walter L. Brown, the present superintendent, who remembers as a boy in 1877 spending one or two years in the old steel vault pasting labels in books, while Mr. Larned catalogued them. There was an early type of librarian such as good old Mr. Sibley of Harvard, who used, as I remember him, to take the freshmen through the stacks of books, pointing to them with an honest pride, but with an air which seemed to say: "Aren't they beautiful, but of course you must never touch them." Mr. Sibley, with all his kind heart, never let a student take out a book without giving him the feeling that if it were lost the student's bond would be estreated. Mr. Larned was far from being that sort, but he differed from the modern superintendent much as Dr. McCosh and Mark Hopkins

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differ from the hustling college presidents of this day and generation. He gave a scholastic air to the library. He raised a standard there to which all the wise and good might repair. And go there they did whenever anything was afoot in the city which concerned the general welfare, for everyone felt the value of his counsel and encouragement.

He did far more than that, however. He met at a meeting of the Library Association a certain Mr. Dewey and brought home with him a system of cataloguing which he proceeded to put into operation. He prevailed upon his directors to issue free cards to the school children, a marked innovation in a library largely supported by membership fees. The open shelf plan, while not original with him, was heartily endorsed, prepared for and ready to put into operation with the increased force which the taking over of the library by the city made possible in 1897. When the Board of Trustees in that year made its contract with the city and threw open the library doors to all comers, Mr. Larned was offered the superintendency, but declined it through a misunderstanding which seemed at that time unfortunate, but perhaps may have been a blessing in disguise. Working under the increased pressure which such a jump in circulation as I have mentioned necessitated, it is hardly likely that we should have had from him those books and articles which I have enumerated and which really are the harvest fruits of his career. Just after his retirement and in May, 1897, over 200 leading lawyers, doctors, ministers and business men, desiring, as the invitation phrased it, "to realize to you our appreciation, not only of your official services, but of your high character as a man and citizen," tendered him a banquet, but he modestly declined in a grateful and characteristic letter.

It was during his career as a librarian that the idea of his *magnum opus*, the "History for Ready Reference," was

conceived. The scheme originated in what might be termed a Ready Reference for History. So many calls were made upon him from time to time for historical references that he began keeping for the next occasion the data from original sources collected for the current caller. These excerpts were originally written out laboriously in long hand by himself and were classified and arranged in accordance with subject and date. They soon began to grow voluminous, and old employes of the library recall the filing case which finally was made to contain them. The need elsewhere of such a compilation was soon seen, and the present compendium is the result. In the library, as in all other places through which he passed, Mr. Larned's memory is fragrant; his rule was so gentle and his companionship so helpful and inspiring.

In 1894 he was president of the American Library Association, and his address at the annual meeting of the society, September 17, 1894, so clearly sets forth his notion of what a library ought to do that I quote from it here. He describes the contented, semi-bucolic state of the earlier citizens of our Republic and says:

But that simpler state is gone. We who are beyond middle age may say that we have seen it disappear. We have witnessed a miraculous transformation of the earth and of the people who dwell on it. We have seen the passing of Aladdin, who rubbed his magical electric lamp as he went, calling Afreets from the air to be the common servants of man. A change has been wrought within fifty years that is measureless, not only in itself, but in its effects on the human race. The people who whisper in each other's ears across a continent; who know at noon-time in Nebraska what happened in the morning at Samarcand; the people to whom a hundred leagues are neighborhood, and a thousand but easy distance; for whom there is little mystery left on the face of the earth, nor anything hidden from their eyes; these people of our day are not in the likeness of the men and women who ambled horseback

or rode in coaches from town to town, and who were content with a weekly mail. The fitting and furniture of mind that would make a safe member of society and a good citizen out of the man of small horizons, who lived the narrower life of a generation or two ago, are perilously scant for these times. . . .

I can remember a state of things in which it was difficult for a man in common life to join himself with other men, much beyond his own neighborhood, in any effectual way, excepting as he did it on the lines of an old political party or an older church. But, today, leagues, unions, federations, associations, orders, rings, form themselves among the restless, unstable elements of the time as easily as clouds are formed in the atmosphere, and with kindred lightning flashes and mutterings of thunder. Any boldly ignorant inventor of a new economical theory or a new political doctrine, or a new corner-stone for the fabric of society, can set on foot a movement from Maine to California, between two equinoxes, if he handles his invention with dexterity. This is what invests popular ignorance with terrors which never appeared in it before, and it is this which has brought the real, responsible test of democracy, social and political, on our time, and on us.

What is the remedy? The wisest minds of other days saw at once that democracy to be successful must be educated, but how? The schools have too brief a chance. He turns to the newspapers, and his arraignment of the press is a fine sample of his style when his righteous indignation was aroused.

Some may say, the newspaper press: and I would rejoice if we could accept that reply. For the press is an educating power that might transform the civilization of the world as swiftly in mind and morals as steam and electricity have transformed its material aspects. There is nothing conceivable in the way of light and leading for mankind which a conscientious and cultivated newspaper press might not do within a single generation. But a press of that character and that effect seems possible only under circumstances of disinterestedness which are not

likely to exist. The publication of a newspaper may sometimes be undertaken as a duty, but not often. As a rule, it is a business, like any other, with the mercenary objects of business; and as a rule, too, the gain sought is more readily and more certainly found by pandering to popular ignorance than by striving against it. A few newspapers can secure a clientage which they please best by dignity, by cleanness, by sober truthfulness, and by thoughtful intelligence, in their columns; but the many are tempted always, not merely to stoop to low tastes and vulgar sentiments, but to cultivate them; because there is gravitation in the moral as well as the physical world, and culture in the downward way is easier than in the upward.

The vulgarizing of the news press has been a late and rapid process, nearly coincident in cause and event with the evolution of this modern democracy which it makes more problematical. We need not be very old to have seen the beginnings: the first skimming of the rich daily news of the world for the scum and the froth of it; the first invention of that disgusting brew, from public sewers and private drains, with which the popular newspapers of the day feed morbid appetites. We can recall the very routes by which it was carried from city to city, and taken up by journal after journal, as they discovered a latent, undeveloped taste for such ferments of literature in the communities around them. The taste was latent, potential; it did not exist as a fact; it was not conscious of itself; it made no demands. The newspapers deliberately sought it out, delved for it, brought it to the surface; fed it, stimulated it, made it what it is today, an appetite as diseased and as shamefully pandered to as the appetite for intoxicating drinks.

So comes the mission of the library, "Our tools are not *books*, but *good books*," and he ends his address with an eloquent presentation of the Mission of the Book.

Of Mr. Larned's connection with this, the Buffalo Historical Society, it is not necessary to speak in this presence. His national reputation as a historian lent an honor to our local association. But he was more to it than

a distinguished name. Long a member of the Board of Councillors and Managers, he served the Society faithfully, and the papers and addresses which he prepared for it attest his loyalty to its aims and its successes. No association with which he was connected will miss him more.

With the cares and responsibilities of the library lifted from his shoulders Mr. Larned became, in 1897, for the first time in many years, master of himself and of his time. An ocean voyage and a stay of five months in England with his family gave him a richly earned vacation. Upon his return he plunged at once into the literary and historical work which had long been in his thoughts, and in the fulfillment of these plans he took a genuine delight. The "History for Ready Reference" had already appeared in 1895, and "Talks about Labor" much earlier. Other books appeared in the order given: two supplementary volumes of the "History for Ready Reference," 1901 and 1910; "Talks about Books," 1897; "History of England for Schools," 1900; "A Multitude of Counsellors," 1901; "Primer of Right and Wrong," 1902; "History of the United States for Secondary Schools," 1903; "Seventy Centuries—A Survey," 1905; "Books, Culture and Character," 1906; "A Study of Greatness in Men," 1911; and "A History of Buffalo," published in the same year.

I shall not attempt a summary or even an estimate of these solid contributions to American historical and ethical literature. I have not the time on this occasion, nor have I the ability to do them justice. Besides that, they speak for themselves—a monument to their author more enduring than brass—which the future student of Mr. Larned's career may find in any library. A compilation of the countless letters and notices of commendation which he received when the "History for Ready Reference" first came out would read like a publisher's catalogue. The laudatory notices (not a whit overstated) put out in the Buffalo

papers last year in connection with the new edition of "Seventy Centuries" would have driven Mr. Larned blushing to his summer home in Orchard Park. One latest authority, however, may be quoted. I asked Prof. Roland G. Usher when here in February his opinion of the "History for Ready Reference." "Standard," he replied, "and used everywhere by everybody." The "Study of Greatness in Men" is perhaps the most popular book, due no doubt to the fact that the studies were originally written as lectures for the high school pupils of Buffalo. These lectures grew out of a Thursday Club paper written by Mr. Larned with the title, "What Constitutes Greatness in Men," which he was persuaded by some members of the Club to elaborate into a series, taking different historical personages for his illustrations. Mention should be made of the charming Life of David Gray, undertaken as a pure labor of love in 1893 when he was right in the midst of his preparation for the "History for Ready Reference." He laid aside all his historical work for a year and without emolument gave his loyal pen to a service in remembrance of his life-long friend.

I pass over the books with a mere reference in order that some account may be given of remarkable occasional addresses and fugitive speeches and essays which are not collected and will not be found so easily hereafter. The stirring address on "Patriotism," delivered March 15, 1900, before the Liberal Club of Buffalo and afterwards printed by that Club, advances views which in these days of moral upheaval are finding lodgment and expression in most thinking minds. He asserts that patriotism has a higher mission than an excuse for international antagonism and war. He deplores the fact that "when war drums are silent the word 'patriotism' is rarely on our lips or in our ears. A warm appeal to love of country is rarely heard, except as an appeal to arms. If patriotism is not identified

with the conflicts of nations, we are doing what we can to make it seem to be so." This he calls a miscarriage of civilization and Christianity which forbodes disaster. Pride of country we should have, but pride not in bigness or wealth or in battle history, but "in our declaration of the rights of men to be consecrated by that declaration to the faithful guardianship of life and liberty and a fair and free pursuit of happiness for all who come within its sphere. Write anywhere on any wall in any continent of the globe, 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,' and ask where it came from. There is only one answer that will be made. It represents the American Republic to men's minds as the flag of stars represents it in their eyes."

In the "City of our Desire," given at the University Day exercises at the Teck Theatre, February 22, 1907, and printed as Pamphlet No. 5, University Extension Movement, Mr. Larned makes a plea for a Greater University which leaves nothing more to be said. It is an argument which will be used again, I am sure, in the coming campaign for this noble object—a scholar's appeal to the intelligent generosity of the man of substance.

Then there is the vignette picture of Washington and Lincoln, spoken at the Saturn Club February 22, 1897, following the address on that occasion of the Hon. Sherman Hoar and printed in pamphlet form with Mr. Hoar's oration—so vivid, so filled with historical knowledge and insight and so eloquent that it challenged the admiration of Mr. Hoar. "Why," said he, to a member of the Club, "do you go out of town for your orators when you have a man at home who can talk like that?"

The *Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1898, contains his article on "Gladstone"; of May, 1911, "Prepare for Socialism"; of March, 1911, "A Criticism of Two Party Politics"; and the *Hibbert Journal* of July, 1913, a paper something in

the form of a symposium, which is a discussion of Evil. In 1906, 1907 and 1908, Mr. Larned wrote for the *Sunday Express* a column appearing in succeeding issues which he modestly termed "Some Comment." These papers have been collected in a scrap-book and they should be edited and re-published. I do not think we appreciated them in the hasty reading which we give to a Sunday newspaper. They cover a wide range of topics, handled with the wisdom of a ripe experience, and have all the breadth of treatment, accuracy of statement and grace of style which mark the *Spectator's* leaders, with none of the cynicism and acidity which sometimes mar the English pages.

After leaving the exacting duties of his library work behind him Mr. Larned seemed to take a new interest in our civic and social affairs. For some years he had, so to speak, buried himself among his books, and his re-appearance was hailed with delight. He became more active in the Civil Service Reform Association, of which he had always been a vice-president. He served faithfully on the executive committee of the Municipal League. He and Henry A. Richmond were the School Association, although some of the rest of us may have helped a little now and then. Richmond was the dynamo and Larned the punch, which gave the machine its operating efficiency. He was made an honorary member of the Saturn Club in 1897, an honor which at that time had been held by only one man before him. The Thursday Club, on learning that he would accept a membership, hastened in 1899 to welcome him to its circle, and it was there that we younger men had our best acquaintance with him. In the writing of papers, we were all tyros when compared with him, but the kindness of his criticism and his judicious praise lent an added enthusiasm to all our meetings. For him the experience must have been in a way a reincarnation of the Nameless

Club of earlier years and he always showed genuine delight in coming to our gatherings.

I have already referred to several movements for better things in which Mr. Larned's voice and pen were actively enlisted, but there were none of them, I think, so near to his heart as the cause of International Peace. During the last twenty years of his life he made use of every occasion where the subject could be appropriately brought in to point out the uselessness and the barbarity of war. His views were the more convincing because they were the outcome of his careful and extended historical research. It had long been assumed that the student of history must necessarily look on war as an unescapable and inevitable calamity. In "The Peace-Teaching of History," a paper printed in the January, 1908, *Atlantic*, Mr. Larned combats this idea. "We often say of the Civil War," he writes, "that it was inevitable; and that is true if we mean what Christ meant when He said, 'It must needs be that offences come.' In His thought He reckoned the inevitableness of wrong-doing among men, and was pointing to no necessity which they do not themselves create; for He added, 'But woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' " Mr. Larned continues:

Of all offences to God and man, that of war is assuredly the blackest we know or can conceive; and if ever we find reason to say of any war that "it must needs be," let us take care to remember that men have made the need; that the woe and the crime of it are on their heads; and that we must not look for the whole guilt on one side. History, written with truth and read with candor, carries this teaching always; and my plea is for graver attention to it than our tradition-colored habits of mind incline us to give. Especially in the introduction of the young to historical reading, it seems to me of great importance that we train them to a justly abhorrent attitude of mind toward war; to such an attitude of thought and feeling as will check the easy excitement of interest in armies and com-

manders and incidents of battle, awakening a moral and rational interest instead. If they read a story of war with the feeling that it is the story of somebody's or some nation's crime, they are sure to be moved to a judicial action of mind, and find their liveliest interest in searching out and apportioning the guilt. By this leading they can be carried into more or less critical studies of the moral, the political, and the economic antecedents of a war, scrutinizing the right and wrong, the practical wisdom or the unwisdom, the true or the false reasoning, in public policy, in popular feeling, in the aims and measures of statesmen, that are discoverable to them in the doings and disputes that brought it about. . . .

Yet war has not only its tolerant apologists, who look upon it as a necessary evil, but its admiring upholders, who commend it as an exercise of energies and virtues in man which his best development requires. In their view he could not be manly if he did not sometimes fight like a wild beast. Courage, resolution, independence, love of liberty, would suffer decay. Rights no longer to be contended for and defended would be valued no more. Peace, in a word, would emasculate the race. Does history sustain such a view? Not at all. The peoples which have exercised their self-asserting energies most in war are the peoples in whom those energies went soonest and most surely to decay.

Among the strong nations of the ancient East, the Assyrian pursued the busiest, most constant career of war; and its end was the most absolute extinction, leaving the least mark of itself behind. What has value in the ruins of its buried cities is what it took from the more ancient Babylonia. Among the Greeks, it was the Spartans who illustrated the fruits of the culture of war; and how much of Greek influence in history came from them? The Romans were a great people, doing a great work in the world—for how long? Till they had exhausted the forces of genius and character that were native in them by persisting in war; and the exhaustion had begun before the Republic went down and the Empire took its place. The Romans had then organized and given their name to a great incorporation of the energies of many other peoples—Latin, Greek, Gallic, Germanic; but the freshening absorp-

tion only retarded and did not arrest the decay. If war could ever invigorate and better a people we should surely have seen the effect in the history of Rome, and, surely, we do not.

At a Liberal Club dinner in 1900 he followed the speaker of the evening with an arraignment of human nature which sounds like inspired prophecy as we read it in this year of barbarism, 1915:

Gentlemen, [he said] we do not easily realize how short a distance we have traveled in moral civilization, and how little behind us we have left those old Teutonic ancestors of ours who fished and fought and plundered on the Baltic and the North Sea, 1500 years ago. We have learned to weave and wear some thin clothing of knowledge and arts and etiquette which we call civilization, and we wrap ourselves in it and behave very decorously for considerable periods, sitting, for example, in quiet companies like this, tasting now and then a little science, a little philosophy, a little sentiment, a little well-sugared religion—until suddenly, on some excitement, we shriek a wild war-whoop and dash away into the woods, swinging Tomahawks, beating tom-toms, dancing war-dances—and we tear off the flimsy vesture of our civilization, look around us for red paint, and are naked savages again. What a sickening spectacle we must offer at such a time to the angels, if they trouble themselves to watch the antics of the human creature with any interest!

In 1907 he made an address before the American Social Science Association at its meeting in Buffalo. I did not hear it, but I was told by one of the out-of-town delegates who did that it was the most convincing argument for peace which he had ever heard. It was afterwards printed in the *Atlantic* under the title, "The Peace Teaching of History," from which I have already quoted.

On October 23, 1898, the Saturn Club presented to the Thirteenth United States Infantry a loving cup. By some irony of fate Mr. Larned was chosen to make the principal

speech of the evening. One portion of his address ought to be set out in Selections for School Declamations, so fervid is its eloquence and so clearly reasoned is the unique presentation of its theme, "The Soldier in a Peace-Loving Republic." He said:

We, in the civic ranks, are apt to think well of ourselves when we perform the safe and easy duties of citizenship in civil life with decent faithfulness. If we give some thought to public questions, some scrutiny to the conduct of public affairs, take some care in the forming of our political opinions, and in the casting of our votes—give a few evenings in the year to public business—we are quite disposed, I think, to feel a thorough pride in ourselves as "good citizens." But put a lifetime of such duty as that, scarcely costing a night's sleep or a dinner, into comparison with one hour in the storm of Mauser bullets on San Juan Hill, and then we see how high above our power to pay is the tribute of honor we owe to the bearers of the nation's sword. But, we see, too, something more than that. We see ourselves commanded to remember that, in the order of the duties of our democratic citizenship, the duty of the civilian goes before that of the soldier and makes his tasks for him. It is the ballot that gives the mandate to the sword. It is the unarmed citizen who carries in his hand the gauntlet of war, and he flings it down, if it is flung at all. It is the million-voting army in which we march that opens battles, and then leaves them to be fought by the braver army which has taken that hard duty to itself. Is there a crime, then, in God's statute-book that is fouler than ours if we suffer any shallow and frothy vanity, any bullying pride in our national bigness, any flash of a thoughtless temper, or anything that is less than a solemn and deep conviction of inevitable need to carry us into political courses that have their issue in war.

Mr. Larned was the first President of the Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society, whose origin, since it may never be recorded elsewhere, is given here. One evening in the early part of 1909 I was a caller at the house of Mrs. Frank

F. Williams, 54 Irving Place, and chanced to express to Mr. and Mrs. Williams my surprise that in so large a city as Buffalo there was no organized group of people working for peace. "Do you feel that way?" said Mrs. Williams. "Mr. Williams and I were talking to Mr. Larned just the other day and he feels that way too. Let us get up one." From that beginning came an organization which has thus far given as good an account of itself as any branch of the American Peace Society, and Mr. Larned was our chief guide and inspiration.

In January, 1913, we heard with alarm that Mr. Larned was suffering from a malady which would probably require an operation. Later, we heard with joy that it had been performed and that he was mending rapidly. Those of us who went to see him at the hospital remember his cheerfulness and the gratitude he expressed towards his surgeons and his nurses who had received and treated him as if he were their most cherished friend. But our hopes were not to find fruition. His age was against him in the struggle and he gradually grew weaker. In June of that year he was taken to his beloved home in Orchard Park where, on August 15, 1913, he died.

I have thus far quite inadequately recounted some of the things which Mr. Larned accomplished during his long life in this community; but he left us a much more precious legacy than these. What he did is surpassed by what he was. There are some puzzling things about Buffalo's reputation in parts beyond her own borders. Our surroundings are flat and uninteresting. "Just railroad beds graded to hand," as Mr. E. C. Sprague once expressed it. Our streets have no natural landscape features. We have no great intellectual or art centers such as Boston, New Haven, Syracuse or Rochester, enjoy. We have only miles of steel rails, acres of stock-yards and the rolling mills, elevators and manufactories, which answer in unusual profusion to

the material roll-call. Our polyglot population, though interesting, has often been deplored as unprogressive, and yet you rarely find a Buffalonian who has migrated to other cities who does not look back with pleasure to his stay in this community. Those who remain have found it a delightful place in which to live. Others come to us, induced by what they hear of our manners and customs. What is the secret of our popularity in this particular? I think it is the influence and example of the average man amongst us. We have no shining lights of literature. We have had few painters or musicians of national repute, but our general average of intelligence and appreciation has been high. Above all things there exists in our society a certain frank democracy of spirit which welcomes a new comer and sustains the habitant with a feeling that he is being taken for what he is more than for what he has, what his ancestral line was, or what his peculiar talents, either in business or professionally, may enable him to attain.

A large factor in this fraternization has been the Saturn Club, at whose door when one enters it, he must leave his "side" behind him and check his halo in the cloak-room. The Thursday Club and the Pundit Club are similar influences. The Twentieth Century, the Collegiate Alumnae, the Women's Union, all accentuate the motto of the Saturn: "Good Company and Good Discourse are the very Sinews of Virtue." Who has given to these centers of influence the primary impulse which they so beneficially transmit? Such citizens as James O. Putnam, Sherman S. Rogers, E. C. Sprague, Charlotte Mulligan, Harriet A. Townsend, Mr. Larned and Mr. Richmond. They have kept the social life of Buffalo sweet and wholesome. They have made it a city where man meets his fellow-man with a level look in his eye and greets him as a friend and neighbor—oft-times by his first name. The spirit which their example fosters begets such friendships as was Larned's for David

Gray, notwithstanding the fact that Gray's political views were diametrically opposed to his own and he edited a rival newspaper. It is the influence of simple unaffected character, conscious of its own rectitude, modest in its claims for recognition and filled with that *caritas* which we no longer translate "charity" but "love." No one will deny to the upbuilders of our city's material success the rewards they deserve, but let us not forget that bricks and mortar, concrete and marble, are but the outward housing of that inner life which is the Buffalo we know.

In this realm of spirit Mr. Larned was a king and recognized as such by all who knew him. When it was proposed to make him an honorary member of the Saturn Club, it became necessary to get the signatures of some two hundred men. I went about with the petition. I have never forgotten the unanimous enthusiasm with which I was met as I passed from office to office. At another time I acted on a committee with Mr. Larned to raise some funds for the School Association. My part consisted chiefly in entering up names and amounts, but it was a sore trial to my associate to go begging from his friends, even in a good cause. I remember on that quest entering the office of the late Charles W. Goodyear. Mr. Larned began the preliminary explanation. He had not proceeded far when Mr. Goodyear stopped him.

"Jo Larned," said he, "if you are looking for money for a public object, you need not take time to explain. It is enough for me to know that you want it. Tell me what I ought to give now and when you need more come back."

In bankers', lawyers', and business offices it was the same. Everyone admired him, believed in him and trusted him.

Mr. John H. Mills was on the staff of the *Express* while Mr. Larned was editor. It was interesting, says Mr. Mills, to watch his methods of office discipline. He had no fixed set of rules, no blustering assumption of authority. His orders

for the most part came in the form of suggestions, yet everyone deferred to him. Even the foreman of the composing room, who would, after the fashion of his kind, slam down proof and copy on the tables of the other editors, handed it to Mr. Larned with a politeness born of respect. Wherever he went this quiet dignity went with him. It seemed a sort of summons to you to stand and deliver the best you had in you. Nothing that was pedantic; no pretentious complacency, but an attitude of expectancy that both you and he would make something of the moment that was worth while.

Yet he loved fun and no one had a better appreciation of it. I well remember once sitting beside him at the Saturn Club when persiflage was the order of the evening and the shafts of wit were flying. "How I wish I could do that," he remarked to me. "My dear man," I replied, "think what boot all of them would give for one moment of your gift of speech." And yet he could hold his own when he was put to it. On one occasion a knot of intimates were bantering him upon his crotchet of never wearing a dress-coat and challenging him to show any good reason for his whim. We pressed him hard with the comfortable merits of the Tuxedo and thought we had him routed when he said, "Well, I might allow the dinner-coat, but it is the tails that make a monkey of a man."

With what unaffected modesty he took all the praise which men bestowed upon him! It was difficult at times to lay hands upon the lion of the evening when he was wanted for exhibition purposes after the speaking was over. It was with him as it was with Pasteur of whom it is related that on one occasion in England where he was to make an address, the audience applauded as he entered the room. Looking about him he thought he saw some distinguished personage advancing from another direction and himself began to clap his hands vigorously. He had no suspicion

that the cheering was for him. The high standard of rectitude which Mr. Larned set up in his "Primer of Right and Wrong," he applied to his own way of life, even in small matters.

I remember once sending by him two small cakes of maple sugar (perhaps five pounds) to a friend in Germany. He gladly promised to deliver it safely and did so. Years afterward I learned that at every custom-house line Mr. Larned had declared that sugar. Inasmuch as it was an unknown product to most European inspectors you can imagine that all the lucent syrups of the East could not compare in value with my gift when laid down in Heidelberg.

I am told that he once contracted in April for his winter's stock of coal, to be delivered in the following month. During the summer, due to a strike or something of that character which the dealer could not have foreseen, the supply was cut off and the coal could not be delivered until September. In the meantime the wholesale price rose and the merchant was in common parlance "stuck." Mr. Larned, of all his customers, so he tells me, voluntarily paid him the advanced price, though in no wise obligated to do so. In sending his check for the bill Mr. Larned wrote that while he did not mind seeing the profit on the transaction wiped out, he would not have the dealer out of pocket for honestly holding to a bargain. The merchant told me the other day that he had often thought of having the letter framed as a fitting memorial of a prince among men.

And why is it not? *Ex pede Herculem*. What he was in little things he was in great. The incident portrays in microcosm his whole life. He followed in all things—in business, in civic life, in international affairs—the great teaching of his Master: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." For this indeed is the whole law—the last evangel of Democracy

which must supersede all others. Mr. Larned believed it, preached it, practiced it, and he left in this city where he lived an influence which will persist when his monument in Forest Lawn shall have crumbled into dust. For what he did and what he was is planted in the hearts of youth, is nurtured by faith in human progress and will bear fruit in generations yet unborn.

Now cracks a noble heart.—Good night, Sweet Prince,
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.

**SELECTED
PAPERS AND ADDRESSES**

By J. N. LARNED

DANIEL D. BIDWELL

ADDRESS AT DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT RAISED BY "D"
COMPANY AT GENERAL BIDWELL'S GRAVE, FOREST
LAWN, BUFFALO, OCTOBER 19, 1871

BY J. N. LARNED

Seven years ago today the brave, good soldier who lies at rest yonder and whose name has been written upon this record of stone, flung his life into the scales in which the ransom of the Republic was then being weighed.

It does not seem so long ago to us, who remember, as though the interval had been weeks instead of years, that sad and solemn day when the torn body of our dead friend was borne back to us for burial. It does not seem so long ago, but the years slip from us as though they were sand in our fingers; and, as treacherous as the sands, they sift and heap themselves so fast upon every precious or sacred memory that we leave unshrined, that, before we know, the dreary waste of the forgotten past is swallowing it up.

That is why this monument has been builded, near the grave of the good soldier who died seven years ago today; who died on one of the battlefields of the last and decisive encounter of civilization with barbaric force, giving the blood of a noble heart to the great seal, of immortal and immutable validity, with which the character of freedom was stamped at last. Even to us who knew him, vivid and tenderly cherished as our recollection of the man and of

his heroic life and of his patriotic death is now—it is not impossible that the time might come, even to us, when the image of the one and the record of the other would have faded to indistinctness in our minds, if now and again, they were not renewed by the seeing of some impressive memento like this.

And how far, at the best of it, through the little remainder of our span of life, would the recollection in which we shall keep them, go toward the immortality of remembrance that is due to those who died, as this man died, in the defending of a great cause? Unless we have tremendously mistaken all the meaning and consequence of events, the heritage of freedom and free government which they redeemed at the price of their lives, is the heritage of the whole future of the human race—destined to pass from father to child with augmentation and accumulation, down to the last generation of mankind. Surely the succeeding heirs of so great an inheritance, of the precious capitalization of patriotic blood, will not forgive us if we fail to preserve and transmit to them the names and the memory of the men to whom they owe it. Nor could we forgive ourselves, or respect ourselves, if we fail to keep their memory green and their names monumentally inscribed. A pious duty, alike to the dead, to the living, and to the unborn millions who will come hereafter—a pious duty with which loving, reverent, and grateful feelings coincide—impel the building of such memorial shafts. It would be pitiful to leave it so that there could ever be a time, while marble will last or granite endure, when our children's children, or a child of theirs, could approach this spot and not be hushed by the silent admonition of an ever-lifted finger of stone, and told to whisper reverently the name of one of those who shielded the Republic with their bodies and took upon themselves the mortal blows with which treason tried to strike it down.

All about us, in this place, there is more than a score of such graves—Wilcox, the Wilkesons, the Burts, Bullymore, Budd, Heacock, Fish, Faxon, Mulligan, Dewey, Ellis, Blatchford, Clinton, Cottier, Tuttle, Woltge, Hosmer, Farnham, Wallace, Herriman, Richardson, Fero, Newell, Justin, and many more are here: and I trust that the chisel which has begun its work, in this, will not rest until it has marked the burial place of every one—the general and the private soldier alike; for the equality of a common martyrdom obliterates every gradation of rank in that high peerage to which they have all been raised.

I have said that he who lies here was a brave, good soldier. He was more than that. The brave heart was as tender and true and honest as it was brave; full of the conscience of duty, and, therefore, full of that grandest patriotism of all, which grows, not so much out of the pride of country, which the serf of any autocrat may feel, as out of faith in and hope for the institutions of free government upon which this nation of United States is founded.

In his case, as with so many others whose stuff was tried by the exigency of war, it was the good citizen that made the good soldier.

When I say these things of him, I am not using emptily and at random the phrases of eulogy. I am declaring the testimony of all who best knew Daniel D. Bidwell, both before and after he entered the perilous path of duty which led him to his death. We, most of us, knew him well in those peaceful days when he was with us here. Doubtless there are some now present who knew him from his boyhood up; for he was born, cradled, and reared in Buffalo. He was the son of Benjamin Bidwell, the pioneer shipbuilder of this port; his birth occurred in the then separate village of Black Rock, in the year 1816. I do not purpose to follow the details of his life, because I could not trace in them, if I did, the growth or shaping of the character of the man, which is all that makes the details of such a life interesting.

At the age when his profession was to be chosen, he studied law in the office of the late James Barton. For some reason, however, his pursuit of law at that period ended with the initiatory study, and he never entered upon professional practice. I think it must have been more by circumstances than by preference that he was led for a time into mercantile life; for it is certain that his nature was not that of a man of business. He was careless of money and had no taste for the speculation or the thrifty trade by which it is accumulated. A few years passed in the employment of a firm in which his father and elder brother were partners, was followed by his election to the office of Justice of the Peace, and some years later he was called to a more important magistracy—that of Police Justice for the city, which he filled until the outbreak of the war. It is an office for which few men are fitted, and his rare adaptation to its trying and difficult duties became all the more marked. He was a just man by every instinct of his mental, as well as his moral, nature; keen in the reading of men; quick and seldom erring in that detective faculty of a shrewdly honest mind which sifts the truth out of contradictions; firm, with the firmness that is sinewy and human—not of flint; stern and austere when occasion needed, but always with a hidden kindness looking out of the kindly eyes. It seems to me that he was almost the model of a magistrate for such a court as the one in which he sat. My duties as a reporter of news, at that time, took me almost daily to his court, and it was there that I learned to feel toward him the affection and respect which I am trying to express with sincerity today.

From his earliest manhood he had been exceedingly fond of military exercises, and to that taste we owe the most important public services of his life—services which must be measured far back of those that he rendered on the actual field when war occurred. It is doing no injustice, I am

sure, to others who labored with him in the good work, which so few people appreciated then, or understood, to say that, during twenty years prior to the war, no man in this community did so much as he to cultivate, keep alive, and make contagious the spirit of those military organizations without which the National Government in 1861 could have summoned nothing better than a mob to meet the first onset of the Southern rebellion. He trained himself first as a private in the old 65th Regiment of the State Militia, then as a lieutenant, and afterwards as brigade inspector. On the death of Captain Burdett, of Company "D" in the 65th, he was chosen to the captaincy of that company, which became henceforward the central object of his thoughts and aspirations. He re-created it, informed it with his own soldierly enthusiasm and ardor, and made it what no company of citizen soldiery here had ever been before. Presently he withdrew his company from the 65th regiment, reorganizing it as an independent corps, with a view to making it the nucleus of a new regimental organization. The new regiment soon grew into existence, and Captain Bidwell's Company "D" became part of what is now the 74th Regiment of the New York State National Guard. He was offered the colonelcy of the regiment, but refused it. The company into which he had drawn the best young manhood of Buffalo had grown into his life and become a part of himself. It was his pride, his pet — his military family, which he loved with father-like affection. And all the time, I think, he looked with serious forethought to the possible time of unexpected public need, when this school of young soldiers whom he was training up might prove the usefulness of his work. I do not believe that his expenditure of time and care and interest and money, upon what sometimes used to be laughed at as "amateur soldering"—I do not believe that it was all amusement and play to him; but I do believe that he kept continually

in his mind the recollection that sometime the country might have need of men who knew something of the discipline and art of action in arms together.

That time came at last and he was ready, and the men whom he had trained for it were ready. How many out of that old Company "D" there were who answered the national summons I cannot state; but we know that they outnumbered the few who, by any cause, were held at home. The pupils and privates in that little school of amateur soldering became teachers and leaders of the rude troops that were hastily made up for actual war, and the usefulness of the training which had prepared them for such a service is more than any man can estimate.

His place of duty was early found. During the summer of 1861 the 49th Regiment of New York Volunteers was enlisted and organized, with Col. Bidwell in command, and on the 16th of September, that year, he led it away to the seat of war. It reached the field during the time when Gen. McClellan was engaged in reorganizing the Army of the Potomac, in front of Washington. Its redly written history for the three fateful years that followed is the sad and glorious history of that heroic army, part of which it remained almost to the end. The battles and disasters of the Peninsular Campaign, from Yorktown to Malvern Hill; the second defeat at Bull Run; the costly victories at South Mountain and Antietam; the bloody and terrible failures at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville; the deadly but glorious conflict at Gettysburg, were among the fiery ordeals through which it passed and by which its thinned ranks became hardened into a veteran line. At the very outset his men learned that their colonel was one who cried "Come!" and showed the way. He never hesitated to expose himself to more than the dangers of his regiment, in order to exhibit an inspiring example. His face was as calm, his bearing as cool, his mind as composed, his voice as steady, when he

rode along the line through a storm of plunging shells or whistling bullets as it used to be when he led some harmless holiday parade. Of course there was confidence between commander and men in such a case — confidence and warm affection, too.

There came a time when that perfect discipline of confiding obedience, to which Col. Bidwell had trained his command, saved a whole army from disaster. It was on one of the nights of those terrible days in the Wilderness, when Grant set out to hew his way to the rebel capital. The enemy had stolen a march into the rear of the Sixth Corps, which formed the right of the Union line. Our troops were surprised, confused, and rolled up in appalling disorder, until the rout reached the position which was occupied by the veteran 49th, and there it was stayed by the cool, calm courage of Col. Bidwell. "His was the form," says a newspaper correspondent who wrote of the scene, "his was the form, on that portentous evening, that sat, among the bullets, upon his horse, in the language of General Sedgwick, 'like a man of iron,' coolly directing the movements which repulsed the enemy, gave us back the field and saved the whole Army of the Potomac from disaster." Had Sedgwick lived, there can be no doubt that the "man of iron" would have dated his promotion to the rank of general from that "portentous evening." But his well-earned "star" he was to wait a little longer for, and win it anew.

When Richmond had been reached and invested, the Sixth Corps was hastily detached, in July, and shipped to Washington, for the defense of the capital, then threatened by the demonstrations of Early, who had overwhelmed Hunter and Sigel, and broken out of the Valley of the Shenandoah. It arrived just in time to confront the rebel advance at the outer line of the defenses of the capital. Col. Bidwell was then commanding the Third Brigade of the Second Division,

and his brigade was selected to drive the enemy back. A brilliant engagement followed — the well-remembered battle of Fort Stevens — in which the troops under his command were alone engaged. It was fought under the eye of President Lincoln, who had ridden out to witness the battle, and Col. Bidwell's promotion was determined then and there. He had broken the rebel line, and their retreat from the front of Washington followed speedily after. He received his commission as Brigadier-General a month later at Charleston.

The Sixth Corps had then joined the forces in the Shenandoah; Sheridan had assumed the command of the whole, and that wonderful campaign in the Valley, which we think of with a bounding pulse even now, was just being opened. Its thrilling episodes followed in quick succession. Early and his swaggering army went whirling through Winchester and staggering from Fisher's Hill; Sheridan had pursued its shattered columns as far as Harrisonburg, had devastated the whole region, to make it incapable of subsisting a rebel force, and had fallen back to Cedar Creek to enter camp and give his exhausted soldiers rest.

And now we approach the tragic, culminating scene, in which our friend acted his last heroic part, in the stormy dramas that are played this side of the grave. A few days had sufficed to bring reinforcements to the beaten rebel army and measurably reconstruct its broken organization. Maddened by the humiliation of his defeats, Early had crept back to the vicinity of the Union camp on Cedar Creek, and watched for an opportunity to snatch revenge. The Sixth Corps had been ordered back to the Richmond front, and Early learned the fact; but the order had been followed instantly by a countermand, and *that* he did not learn. Sheridan had gone to Washington, and Early found it out; but his spies did not tell him that the journey had been made at flying speed, and that Sheridan, on his return,

was already only "twenty miles away," sleeping that night at Winchester. And so he planned a surprise attack upon the Union army, for the early morning of the 19th of October. A thick fog settled in the valley and helped his design. Silently, in the gray dawn of the morning, the three divisions which he had massed for the attack, stripped of every accoutrement except their ammunition and their arms, stole through the fog and through the shadow of a wooded hill, across the intervening creek, and dashed, with terrifying yells, upon the works of the troops at the left of the Union line. The surprise was complete. There was little chance for rallying in the foggy darkness, under the deadly fire which the yelling assailants poured in as they advanced. The Eighth Corps, which held the left of the line, was sent flying from its entrenchments, only to encounter another division of the enemy which had reached its flank by a circuitous route. Large numbers of prisoners were swept into the well-drawn net, and the whole left wing of Sheridan's army on Cedar Creek was practically cleared from the field within an hour. The Nineteenth Corps, which occupied the center of the line, with the Sixth Corps on its right, was now left exposed to the enemy, who closed hotly in upon its flank, while Early at the same time pressed it with his remaining forces in front, and the artillery of the enemy, together with the guns that they had captured, were all tearing its ranks with shell. It was more than flesh and blood could bear. The corps wavered. The division on its left gave way. The flanking columns of the enemy were steadily making headway toward the retreating trains of the army on the turnpike toward Middletown. The situation was ominous of a terrible disaster, and Sheridan was "twenty miles away."

Everything depended now upon the old Sixth Corps, which had saved so many a field. It was swung from its position on the right into a line facing the left attack of

the enemy, and took its ground near the summit of a slight bare ridge, across which the shells from the rebel batteries came ploughing thickly. Twice the enemy charged its line and were driven back after a desperate encounter, hand to hand. There the men were ordered to lie down upon the slope. General Bidwell sat erect on his horse, a few paces behind his prostrate brigade, as cool as though the storm of fire and death was not playing around him. Col. Selkirk, of his staff, sat near. A shell had dropped and exploded among the men, a little distance down the line, and they both were intently looking to see what fatal work it had done. At that instant he was struck down. A passing shell had torn his left shoulder away and hurled him, unconscious, from his seat. The lightning could not have been swifter or more noiseless in its stroke. His companions heard nothing but one groan, and turned to find the general stretched upon the earth. His riderless horse stood still, as though it had not felt the emptying of its saddle.

Tender hands raised up the mutilated and insensible form and bore it back to a hospital in the rear. The dying soldier revived after a time from his swoon and the surgeons told him that he had not long to live. He said calmly that he had expected it was so, and began with composure to prepare for his parting with earthly things. His grief at the prospect of death seemed to be not for himself, but for his wife. Among the first of his thoughts was to ask that a little colored boy — one of the homeless waifs of the war — who had been his servant for some time, should be sent to Buffalo and committed to the care of his family and friends. The few directions that he had to leave were briefly given, for he was in mortal agony from the first. But his mind was steadily clear, except in the short intervals when strong opiates gave him sleep. And thus he lay, through the slow hours of nearly half a day, waiting for the gates of the other life to open.

And while he lingered there, out at the front the tide of disaster which had borne him down was being rolled back by a powerful hand, in a mighty wave of overwhelming victory. Sheridan had come, with his electric presence, and the resistless force of his indomitable will, and had saved the day. And so, haply, there shone around the bed of the dying soldier, before he died, the glories of a surpassing triumph for the cause which he had loved better than his life.

The last words that he is remembered to have said to the one who stood by him to the end were: "I have tried to do my duty." The thought of duty was his last, I am sure, because it had been the thought of his life. He did it always, as men do who try.

I do not know what legend has been inscribed upon these monumental stones, but I hope that the chisel has written the simple, touching and true words of his own dying testimony, that

"HE TRIED TO DO HIS DUTY."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ADDRESS AT CELEBRATION OF LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, ST. JAMES
HALL, BUFFALO, FEBRUARY 12, 1874

BY J. N. LARNED

The advent in this world of a great human character is something to be commemorated. God does not give us such so often that, when they appear, we may dare to treat them familiarly, as though they were common and cheap. We have great men, of a kind, rising every generation amongst us in no small number; men of largeness, of weight, of power — of surpassing faculties or surpassing gifts in this direction and that; men who lightly leap over the barriers of limitation which hem their fellows in; men of great doing or great discovery; who bring us revelations in poetry, in philosophy, in science; who can govern states, mold nations as with a mighty potter's hand, command events, lay hold upon destiny and fate, make history in a masterful way; men who can play with armies as with knights and pawns in a game of chess, or who can breathe a spell upon the million-handed, idle mob of humankind; and, lo! a Titan has risen to do their will upon the earth — to hew its mountains down, to fill its valleys up and to spread the dominion of man with lightning and with fire.

But the great human character that I have in my thought tonight signifies something more than this. It signifies a greatness of being beyond the greatness of doing—a great-

ness of the man in himself, of himself, to himself, separately and apart from all that he may have done. There have lived a few men—only a few—in our world, the luster and illumination of whose personal selves have obscured their own deeds; whereas, most times, it happens the other way, and the splendid deed or the shining gift illuminates the man behind it. The difference is here: In one case the individual man may be blotted out of historic memory, if only his works are left behind, and there is no loss; in the other case, to extinguish the personal man were to rend a great gap in human history and inflict a great bereavement on the human heart. These are the true immortals of the race—inhabitants not of an age, but of the ages. We never think of them as honored ghosts of any dead and far-off past; they are the illustrious fellows of every present day. It is for some men to kindle a light in the world, but it is for these few, greater than all, to be that light themselves. The atmosphere of our lives is all aglow with the radiance of theirs, and how much of the nobler warmth of our hearts and the wider vision of our souls we owe to them is more than we can tell. The fact of their being—of their having been—is part of the glory of the world and a portion of the joy, the cheer, the inspiration of human life.

These are the great characters whom I mean, and, few though they be, I think that I do no wrong even to so illustrious a peerage as this if I claim in it a place for Abraham Lincoln. Perhaps we are yet too near those terrible times when the enduring stability of federal republicanism in America was brought to the deciding test, and this momentous experiment of self government among civilized men hung wavering between failure and success—perhaps, I say, we are yet too near to estimate fully how much the weight of the personal character of this one great man had to do with the result. But we can judge the largeness of

his relation to those tremendous events more clearly and justly today than we could then, in the feverish hours of their happening. With passion cooled, with partisan feelings allayed, we can all of us now, however far we have been held apart in our standpoints, look back upon that tragic stage, with its lurid lights, and see that the homely figure of this gaunt, ungraceful man of the West looms larger, grander and more heroic among its actors the farther we recede.

The fact about him which time discloses more and more is this: That his greatness is measured not so much by what he was able to *do* for the cause of freedom as by what he was able to *be* to it. It was not his part to ride upon the storm which rolled out of the free North to overwhelm slavery and treason; it was not his part to forge its thunderbolts, nor to hurl them; but it was his sublimer part to stand like a firm, strong pillar in the midst of the swaying tempest of that uncertain time for a tottering nation and a shaken cause to hold themselves fast by. That is what he was to us; that is what he did for us; and that is the kind of providence in human affairs which great characters only, of the grandest mold and make, are given for. How much this people leaned upon him while they fought their weary battle out; how much they took strength from his strength, calmness from his calm, patience from his patience, faith from his faith, they never knew until he lay dead at their feet. Ah! what a remembrance we have of that appalling day when, right in the moment of our consummated triumph, Lincoln was slain, and the pillar on which our very trust in one another had rested more than we understood was treacherously overthrown! Then you and I and all of us fell down and well-nigh grovelled in despair. It seemed to us for a time as though the solid earth had sunk away from our feet and chaos had come again. It took us hours to believe that all our victory had not come instantly to

naught and that all the long battle had not been fought in vain. It took us days to recover faith in the re-union and re-habilitation of the republic with Abraham Lincoln gone. All that he had been to us began to dawn upon our understandings then. We began to see what an incarnation of democracy he had been; what a soul of sincerity and verity he had supplied to the cause of popular freedom, which the wind-blown emptiness and falsehood and hypocrisy of demagogues brings so often to contempt; with what possession his great character had folded itself about every feeling that we had which made us patriotic, democratic, republican.

And, as we who were his countrymen saw, the whole world saw, too. Can you remember, looking history through, another man whose death aggrieved mankind as Lincoln's did? Do you know any other time when such a sob went out of the human heart as we heard from every continent when Lincoln fell? Oh! the people knew him for what he was, by some instinct that is a mystery in human nature. The humble, common men and women of every race were mourners with us at his grave and mingled their tears with ours. They could not altogether tell, perhaps, for what or why they so honored and loved the man; because the homage which a great soul commands yields itself to influences which are half of them unconscious and invisible.

I would not undertake to analyze the attributes of character in Abraham Lincoln which made him what he was. I could not if I would. Some of them I can partly understand; but I know that there were lights and forces and spiritualities in the man which no one can apprehend. I can see what a bottom of strength and stableness and truthfulness and sweetness he had in the rare simplicity of his nature. He kept his nature as it was given him. He was so very little a world-made man — so very much a God-made man. He was one of the few in whom the child seems to have grown into the man — not the man out of the child —

and whose primitive simpleness and sincerity seem to have matured without any accretion at all of the hardening crusts of worldly affectation and polite hypocrisy. This gave him the power which truth of any kind possesses always. It made him strong to himself and strong to his fellowmen. It preserved a wonderful fiber and elasticity in all his being. It was this that produced that quaint and homely humor in him which some people strangely mistook for clownishness and levity. Levity! Who ever looked into the sorrowful, sad eyes of Abraham Lincoln, when his great burden was heavy upon him, and believed that there was levity in the soul of the man? His earnestness was of a deeper kind than those who slandered him that way could ever understand. It was deeper than any impulse goes — it was in the depths of his nature.

And how wise he was! We have heard it disparagingly said that Lincoln had no genius; that he was only a common man with superior common sense. But he was wise with a wisdom which nothing save genius can ever possess. The shrewdly calculating brain of Seward, the large, strong intellect of Chase, the resolute and willful mind of Stanton, could never attain the like of it. He *felt* the argument and meaning of events. He *heard* the talk of the people among themselves with an inward ear; he looked into the working of their hearts with an inward eye. And so it happened that all he did and all he said in the great crises of his work was done and said with a timeliness and a fitness which no reckoning sagacity could ever have hit. Read now, in the light of later events, the little speeches that he made on his way from Springfield to Washington to assume the presidential office, and see how wise they were! Read his first inaugural address, and his second one, his messages to Congress, his wonderful speech at Gettysburg, his proclamation of emancipation and reconstruction, and see what comprehension of times and circumstances they show! We need to

read back and study the doings of the man over again to know what Providence he was to us, and how well for this nation it was that a great, inlighted character like his filled its chief place at such a time.

We have sometimes said that perhaps it was fortunate for his fame that Lincoln died when he did. No doubt a certain consecration of his memory was produced by the cruelty and martyrdom of his death; but farther than that I do not credit such a thought. I believe that if he had continued with us, to be our counsellor and guide in the hard return from war to peace, we should have come by a shorter and better way to better conclusions than we have reached.

But no matter; it is idle to speculate on that. The important thing to be thought of is, that we thank God, as we ought to do, for the gift of this man's greatness while it was ours, and that we do not let ourselves live vainly in the light of it. If we mean to be, in fact and truth, the democracy that we pretend to be and are not; if we genuinely want, you and I, to stand toward one another as fellow citizens of a political commonwealth, in the simple relation of man to man, and give to one another and take from one another all the amplitude of character and life that men can give and take, each from each, in a perfect social state, he has intimated to us how, and signified the kind of republicans we must be. If this nation is to be truly great, it must be great as Lincoln was, by verity and simpleness, by honesty and earnestness; its politics become a fair weighing of true opinions; its diplomacy a straight acting towards just purposes and necessary ends; its public service a duty and an honor; its citizenship a precious inheritance or a priceless gift. I have faith enough and hope enough to believe that the time of these things is coming yet; and then, not till then, will the monument of Abraham Lincoln, exemplar of democracy and type of the republican man, have been builded complete.

THE INFLUENCE OF A PUBLIC LIBRARY

REMARKS AT A MEETING HELD APRIL 18, 1883, TO PROMOTE
THE MOVEMENT WHICH RESULTED IN THE ERECTION
OF THE BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY BUILDING

BY J. N. LARNED

I feel naturally a very deep interest in the undertaking which has been brought before this meeting for discussion. If any large part of the interest I feel in it is due to my personal connection with one of the institutions most affected by what is proposed, I am sure it is chiefly because I have learned through that connection more than I could otherwise know of the nature and the extent of the influence that public libraries exert in a community. I can see from my own experience that it is not easy to comprehend from any outside point of observation, the measure or the quality of the educating work which a public library performs. It is a matter of information that cannot be statistically exhibited. It is not shown by the enumerating of readers nor by the computing and classifying of the books they read. You may learn, truly enough, from such statistics, that every public library is drawn upon to a lamentable extent for reading that has no object beyond amusement—diversion—and that, too, very considerably of the most frivolous kind, contributing more to unwholesome dissipations of mind than to any good.

But the story which bare figures can tell on this point is misleading. They show, for example, that about seventy out of every hundred volumes taken for reading from our Young Men's Library are books of fiction. But that fact really signifies much less to the disparagement of those who use the Library than it appears to signify. For, in the first place, a large part of the fiction read is good fiction—fiction belonging to the higher pure literature of half a dozen languages, and which is as nutritive and wholesome in its due proportion as history or science.

Then, as for the less worthy remainder, the major part of the large consumption is achieved by a comparatively small number of insatiable readers. Remember that the intemperate novel reader will devour five to ten volumes of that light confection while the studious reader of substantial literature is going through a single book. So 70 per cent. of fiction in the mere counting of volumes is very far from representing 70 per cent. of readers who get nothing but amusement from the library. On the contrary, I do not hesitate to say that a most positive majority of those who use the library use it, upon the whole, to the great benefit of themselves—are fed by it intellectually and morally, broadened by it in knowledge and character.

The nature of the educating influence which a great public collection of books brings to bear upon a community, when the people have learned the habit of resorting to it and making active use of its stores, is quite different from any other. There is no substitute for it. Schools and colleges put our young people in the way of education and equip them with the implements for it. They are at the end of their function when they do that. If we should depend upon them for the ripening of the culture that our city as a whole is to have, we should be satisfying ourselves with a very thin and shallow social development. I do not mean to imply that books, in school and out of school, are

the supreme sources of culture, whether intellectual or moral, but I do say that, from first to last, they are the fertilizers for it, and that a great collection of books in a public library is a fountain of irrigation for every kind of fruitful planting that is done in the community around it.

We have looked but a little way into its influence if we take account only of the set reading or set study which it encourages. The greater thing that it does is to produce among people a habit of following up the topics and questions in which their interest happens to be stirred, from time to time, by casual hints and circumstances. To make it common and habitual in some large circle of people to say, on such occasions, "I will go to the Library and investigate that point," or "I will get acquainted with that author," or "I will study the life and work of that man," or "I will look into that book"—according to the turn the suggestion has taken—to make this habitual and common, I say, is to set in action more penetrating energies and more potent agencies of education than can be organized in any school or college. And it is upon my observation of the steady growth in this community of that kind of habitual appeal to its public libraries, that I found my high estimate of their influence. From day to day it is becoming more and more the fact that young and old of all classes are pursuing in them every kind of quest, through all ranges of literature, and that in nine cases out of ten they are quests for which no ordinary private library could furnish the means. A school theme, a newspaper paragraph, an allusion from the pulpit, a magazine article, a picture, a quotation, a play, perhaps, supplies the impulse which will often carry itself long and far into the intellectual life and growth of our public library students. It is the existence of the public library and the cultivation of the popular habit of turning to its stores, which quickens all such casual impulses and makes them efficient. With-

out it, they would come to nothing. And so it is, in some degree, I think, with respect to all the working agencies which we count upon for the educating, elevating and refining of society. Their influence is fed and reinforced continually from the public libraries. Our schools, churches, museums, art collections, science clubs, literary societies, all find their chief ally in the library, which nurses and nourishes every germ that they throw out.

If we can have the two important libraries of our city planted side by side, over there, forming already a combined collection of about 70,000 volumes, with the Historical Society, the Society of Natural Sciences, and the Academy of Fine Arts grouped around them, what a pharos will have been set up in the midst of the city, and to what harborage of all things most gracious and sweet in the commerce of social life it will light the way for generations to come.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

REMARKS, FOLLOWING AN ADDRESS ON "AMERICAN
COURAGE"† BY HON. SHERMAN HOAR, BEFORE THE
SATURN CLUB, BUFFALO, FEBRUARY 22, 1897

BY J. N. LARNED

Mr. Dean, and Gentlemen of the Saturn Club:

I was told that I might be called upon to say something here tonight by way, perhaps, of introduction to the privileges of the membership with which you have generously honored me, and for which I repeat my thanks to you. I had known that I should value those privileges very highly, but as I realize them this evening they have a new meaning to me. I should have been a serious loser if I could not have listened with you to the splendid address we have heard, and had not taken from it the freshened faith it inspires in a country which has answered so to calls for high courage in its sons. I hope I may lose on no occasion hereafter the privilege you have given me of joining in your yearly commemoration of the birth of Washington—a custom most admirable on the part of this Club. The oftener we are induced as a people to turn our thoughts back to the greater men of our national past, the better it will be for these United States.

There was a time, in my youth, when I entertained a somewhat tolerant and patronizing opinion of Washington. I thought I could detect a certain American exaggeration

in the general estimate of him, and I tried to hold myself superior to such patriotic illusions. But since I outgrew that callowness I have been learning to comprehend the extraordinary place which Washington holds in history. It would be really a unique place, if the same country which gave it to Washington had not already found another kindred immortal, in Abraham Lincoln, to put closely beside him; and it is quite the unique glory of this country that, before it had borne its name through one full century, it had contributed to the world's pantheon of national heroes two figures which all men's eyes can see to be of a greatness that differs in kind from the greatness of most of their peers, and to be of a higher kind. What other people has brought into public life more than one, if even one man, of the moral mold and stature of Washington and Lincoln? There are soldiers in plenty who count more victories, in greater campaigns, than Washington's. There are statesmen in plenty whose successes were more splendid than his. But how many of their names do men everywhere speak reverently, as they speak the name of Washington? England can cite her Alfred, who was the Washington of the Middle Ages. But what other? Not Cromwell, who climbed by the ladders of a great opportunity to the top of power; who used his power grandly, in many ways, for England, but who did not use it disinterestedly, and who is condemned, both as a statesman and as a man, by the fact that he found nothing better to do with his uncrowned kingship in the end than to pass it on to an incompetent son. What other, then? Not Chatham. Not Wellington. Nor of all who lie in Westminster is there one.

And when I turn to other races, and look along the ranks of their patriotic chieftains, from David to Garibaldi, I find none who have come near to making the impression of moral greatness on mankind which Washington left and which time has steadily deepened. Fame had given him

a shrine apart, until Lincoln came to share it; and now the memories of these two heroes of American democracy have an almost lonely sacredness in the veneration of men. The transcendence that was common to them is this: That they were exalted above their fellows, not so much by what they *did* as by what they *were*; by the incomparable high soul that was in each—above the small ambitions, for title, for self-glory, for mastery—above jealousy, above malice, above all meanness—filled with the princely virtue of virtues, which is magnanimity. That is the greatness in which they were alike, and that, in my belief, holds the inner secret of the power with which Washington at one crisis and Lincoln at another molded the fortunes of this republic. The might of bare character, as a static force in human affairs, was shown at its best in these men; and there are no other equal examples of it that I can find in history.

The better I acquaint myself with the circumstances of American independence and the founding of a federal union of the States, the more distinctly I seem to see that there were two essential, indispensable men concerned in the event. Without Sam. Adams I cannot believe that the Revolution would have had an effective beginning, when it did. Without George Washington I cannot believe that it would have had a successful ending, within the generation which saw it end. The restless energy of the one roused and rallied the temper which broke away from British rule; the sublime constancy of the other bore the undertaking through, not merely to the sundering of irksome bonds, but to the making of a nation, with ability to stand alone.

It is impossible to study down to the bottom of the facts of any part of the story of the Revolution without discovery of the pervading and controlling influence of Washington, subduing jealousies, sectional and personal, overcoming

distrusts, resisting divisions, bringing courage to the faltering and confusion to the base. Lincoln, in his day, had a mighty national sentiment to bear him up, and to harden into solidity, under his own trust in it—Washington had none. He, himself, would seem to have been the sole substitute for it. He was the one discoverable center, round which everything that found a center must circumference itself. He was more than "the soul of the cause"; the very body of the cause took most of its substance from him. It was his firmness that stiffened its gristle into bone. His courage was the tonic for its fainting, again and again. What he gave to it was more than what he did. It was not his deeds so much as his qualities that triumphed in it. And that, in any view, exemplifies a greatness which surpasses the greatness of Caesar and Napoleon.

So it was, too, with Abraham Lincoln; though *he* bore the divine mark of genius, which Washington did not, *his* heart, *his* understanding, *his* tongue, were touched with the sacred fire that burns for so few of the sons of men. Above all in his age, he was endowed with the wisdom that is jealously kept for the chosen of the gods. He was the greatest among us by intellectual right not less than by moral right, and what he *did* in the crisis of the republic was greater than the doing of any other. But what he *was*, counted for more, after all. The "Father Abraham," the "Honest Old Abe," of the people, was a factor of more final potency than measures in Cabinet and Congress, and more than armies in the field. His surpassing greatness, like that of Washington, was in the quality of the man, as distinguishable from his powers.

There was no likeness between them, except in that. The massive dignity of character in the Virginian contrasts strangely with the simple homeliness of the man of the West; but there was a kindred magnanimity of spirit behind the difference.

As I said in beginning, it is the singular glory of the American people that, young as they are in the family of nations, they have put not one, but two such characters into the highest places in history.

PATRIOTISM

ADDRESS GIVEN BEFORE THE LIBERAL CLUB OF BUFFALO,
MARCH 15, 1900

BY J. N. LARNED

I wish to speak of patriotism, because it is a subject that can never be taken into our thoughts without doing us good, and because it is one which most of us have at heart, I think, much more than we have it in mind. The mere feeling that can be called "love of country" is a very common one. It warms our hearts when we look at the flag; it tingles in our veins when we listen to a national air; it exults in us when our country is honored; it rages in us when our country is wronged. Nature has taken care that no feeling shall be more easily moved; for it is one that she uses powerfully in her social marshaling of the human race. It is one by which she fuses and molds us together, and incorporates us in all the forms of association that make up a civilized world. The clan would have had no tie, the tribe no bond—even family life would never have been known—if their existence had been left to depend on a cold reckoning of the common advantages they give. As for nations, they were never created by statesmanship, nor ever made enduring by their constitutions; but the inner secret of their being is always in deeps of feeling that are instinctive in the social nature of men.

As it comes to us by the gift of Nature, the emotion that can be flashed by the sight of a flag or the sound of a song is very crude. Like all of its kind, it is just a wildfire, which we are expected, as rational and moral beings, to take under thoughtful control, and to make use of, not for empty ardors of rage or vanity, but to put warmth and spirit and conscience into our political conduct and political thought. Such wildfires of our nature, as I would call them, are forces, in fact, that we ought to deal with as we deal with the forces external to us, in the physical world; which we master, train, educate, to a service that we plan and command. What our steam engines represent is actually an education—a training to higher uses—of the fire that burned on the hearth and boiled the pot of the primitive man. What we see in the telegraph, the telephone and the electric railway, is an educated Ariel, who only played pranks in the clouds until his scientific training began. Outwardly, that mastery and rational development of physical forces is one side of the process of the civilization of mankind. Inwardly, the same process of discipline and cultivation for the forces in ourselves must go equally on, if a perfect civilization is to be reached.

It does go on, but it does not go equally on. Among the warm impulses that move us there are some on which the culture of the race has worked marvels even greater than the marvels of electricity and steam. Look, for example, at those which show themselves in the devotion of parent to child, of the old to the young, of the passing to the rising generation! As primary feelings, they move the savage and the civilized man alike; but the savage satisfies them when he feeds and clothes his children and puts weapons into their hands. Set in contrast with that the vast systems of providence for the young which educated parental love has created in our day!—the schools, the methods and apparatus of teaching and training, the

literature, the diversions, the hygienic science, the protective law; and then consider how amazing a share of the thought of the thoughtful part of the world is being given to this one subject of care for the young; the great institutions in which it is studied, the numberless meetings that discuss it, the libraries of books that it fills! There we see the work of the parental instinct as it is civilized, socialized, cultivated, raised to high powers of expression and action, charged with lofty ideals and moral aims—no longer a mere feeling that prompts, but a conscience that commands—and we know that God's purpose in giving it to men is being fulfilled.

But how has it fared meantime with that larger communal instinct which ties the hearts of men to a country, to a "fatherland," and to their fellows in it? Has any such difference risen there, between the sentiment we call patriotism in the civilized man and the crude feeling that Nature kindled for the beginnings of our social state? We always find it in those beginnings. The country to be loved may be only a glen, or a bare hill or two, or a range of pasture, or a hunting ground, but it is unfailingly there. It may have meagre inspirations and pitifully poor rewards, but it burns with a passionate flame—hot, fierce, deadly to a foe, and to every stranger and alien, as being a foe. And what else is it? Nothing. The one idea in it is the idea of battle; its one incitement is an enemy; its one end is war. The primitive source, in fact, of all that we call patriotism is a naked passion of battle and war.

Now, what has civilization done with it? What has Christianity done with it? What refinements have they wrought in the barbaric passion? What ideals have they imported into it? Toward what higher aims is it being turned? I sought an answer to those questions not long ago from one of the notable men of our time, Count Tolstoi.

I went to his little book on "Patriotism and Christianity," expecting that it would give me some portraiture of Christian patriotism, as it is, as it ought to be; but it met me, on the contrary, with a passionate denial of the possibility of any such thing. I found it to be a sweeping denunciation of patriotism, as something wickedly irreconcilable with the religion of Christ. Now, this seems to be strange ground for a man like Count Tolstoi to take; but his book shows very plainly what has carried him there. He has brushed aside all abstract and theoretical definitions of patriotism, and has gone straight to history, and to the doings of his own day, for practical exhibitions of the spirit which takes that name, and he thinks that he has found in it so little that rises above the old barbaric spirit of war that it means that to him, and nothing else. It is with that meaning in mind that he calls patriotism "the cruel tradition of an outlived period," promising no future "that is not terrible," and declares that there is not and has not been "any conjoint violence of some people against others which was not accomplished" in its name.

I think we will all say that the view of Count Tolstoi is flagrantly wrong, in so far as it finds nothing in patriotism but the spirit of international antagonism and war; but can we deny that the two are substantially identified in the ideas that have most currency in the world? When war drums are silent the word patriotism is rarely on our lips or in our ears. A warm appeal to the love of country is rarely heard except as an appeal to arms. If patriotism is not identified with the conflicts of nations, we are doing what we can to make it seem to be so.

Surely, there is some miscarriage of civilization in this—some miscarriage of Christianity—some strange perversion of influences that work generally for the moral advancement of the world. It cannot be that such a primary impulse of common feeling as that which sentimentally

incorporates great bodies of men, and moves them by one passionate affection for the land, the history, the ancestry, the heroes, the sages, the songs, the laws, the monuments of the past and the visions of the future that they inherit and possess together—it cannot be that this was planted among the deep instincts of humanity without some nobler purpose than it has yet fulfilled. So far, it has seemed to escape even that common culture and expansion of human sympathies which is tending to make all men friendly and kindly toward all. It obstructs and limits the very comities that seek growth in the civilized world. As man meeting man, the Frenchman and the German, the Englishman and the Russian, the American and the Spaniard, can come together with a friendliness measured only by the personal congeniality that each finds in the other; but if they remember themselves as Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Russians, Spaniards, Americans, there arises between them a chilling consciousness of national alienism, implying possible obligations of patriotic antagonism, and obstructing the good will among men that grows otherwise year by year, and that is more and more the desire of mankind.

It is a fact, then, not to be denied, that the sentiment of patriotism is laggard in civilization; that it clings to more of the primitive barbarism of its temper than other instincts of sentiment have done, and has not been equally cultivated, broadened and refined. What can we do to change the fact? In asking this question I do not mean to imply that the thought of an endeavor to cultivate patriotism is new. Of late years that has been in our country a remarkably active thought, and it has given rise to many movements and measures, some of which cannot fail to bear excellent fruit. But generally in those movements there is wanting, it seems to me, a careful ascertainment and clear perception of what it is that needs to be

cultivated, in order to produce a fine and noble patriotism in the land. For the most part, they appear to be aimed at excitements of national feeling, with little care as to the kind or quality of feeling invoked; and it is just because patriotism has always been dealt with as a mere matter of feeling that it has risen to no higher service among the civilizing influences of the world. A feeling, in itself, is naught. Its only worth in the human constitution is as a carrier of ideals and beliefs—a motive force behind duties, ambitions and aims. If we set electric waves in motion and give them no message, or generate steam and put no burden on it, we are doing nothing more useless than if we stimulate feelings that we call patriotic and charge them with no worthy conception of patriotic objects and ends. But that is a mistake that can easily be made; and I think that some examples of it are found in things that have been done of late years, especially to promote, in this country, a somewhat passionate cult of the national flag.

We passed a law, for example, in the State of New York, not many years ago, which requires, I believe, that every public schoolhouse shall be provided with a flag, and that the flag shall be raised during every school day. Now the very thought of placing a flag at each school was very fine, and I am glad that it was put into law; but the further thought, of keeping that beautiful emblem always before the eyes of the children, was not so wisely conceived. I talked once on the subject with a teacher, whose experience left no doubt on my mind that this part of the law is a serious mistake. "Long before the law was passed," he said, "our school had a flag, and it was my practice to have it raised on all important anniversaries of national events; not merely on the legal holidays, but on many anniversaries, like those of the birth of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, Irving, Emerson, Longfellow and others; like the anniversaries of the fight at Lexington, the sur-

render at Yorktown, the ratification of the Federal Constitution by New York, the inauguration of Washington, the attack on Fort Sumter, the Emancipation Proclamation, the assassination of Lincoln, and on other days which mark occurrences that have had some notable effect on our national life. When the children, coming to school on such days, caught sight of the flag, they began at once to ask what it meant. They arrived with a keen interest and curiosity in their minds. Then I talked with them for a few moments about the anniversary topic of the day. In that way the flag was connected with our national history in their thoughts. It acquired a real meaning to them—fulfilled its real purpose, as an emblem of the Republic—and the sight of it awakened feelings of love and pride in their hearts that were not empty, but were understandingly filled. That effect," continued the teacher, and he spoke with much feeling, "is now lost. The children have unseeing eyes for the flag, and indifferent minds, because it is always before them. It has been made such a commonplace object that attention to it and interest in it are possible no more. I try to talk to them of the anniversary topics, as I used to do, but the effect is very different, since they listen without the expectant curiosity which the sight of the hoisted flag had always stirred up. And the flag itself is robbed of the association that it had with such episodes of history, in their thought and in their memories, which is a serious loss."

The schoolmaster whose experience I have repeated, substantially as he gave it to me, was clearly right, and our law is clearly wrong. It is by such thoughtful methods as his that we can endear the national flag to our children, as an ensign, a symbol, a reminder, of all the claims their country can make on their duty, their love and their faith, and we cheapen it in their thought when we make it too common in their sight.

This mistake appears to me to be a typical one, representative of many others that we have made, and are making, in our well-meant but not well-considered endeavors to cultivate a patriotic sentiment, especially in the young. We work too much on mere surfaces of feeling. We try to excite by mere names and objects what ought to be kindled by inspiring ideas, and the tendency is to produce a pagan idol-worship of country, rather than an exalted religion of patriotism, such as would lift this democratic republic into a purer and serener air.

If we wish to work intelligently in this matter, from an understanding of the kind of cultivation and education that the patriotic instinct requires, we must look a little into the nature of the feelings through which it acts. I have been speaking somewhat as though men were endowed with one particular sensibility, to which their thought of nation or country appeals; but that is not at all the fact. There is a whole bundle of feelings, some or all of which may be stimulated by many kinds of appeal, this with others, as they happen to come, and the difference between the barbaric and the civilized state of patriotic emotion seems to lie partly in the choice that is made among them, and partly in the quality of the stimulant applied.

At the bottom of them all is the egotistic feeling which carries a man's heart to that which belongs to him, and that to which he belongs. In all the cruder conditions of human nature this feeling, which bears an ignoble and a vulgar taint, works everywhere with great power, and nowhere more powerfully than in the strengthening of social and political bonds. Barbaric society needs it as a coarse cement; civilization should extinguish the need, by bringing finer agencies into play. In so far as our patriotic feeling is allowed to attach us with heat and passion to our country, just because it is *our* country, so far it is on

a level with the patriotism of a Turk, grounded on nothing which his rotting empire does not offer to him. I take it that the first aim in our endeavor to cultivate a large and fine love of country in American hearts, should be to make it consciously such a love as could not possibly be inspired if this republic were not what it is, and what we can reasonably hope that it will become.

Of course, the sense that one's self is in and of the nation must be, and ought to be, in all our feelings towards it. It has its right part in those feelings, which is not a braggart and vulgar part. It instigates pride of country, without which love of country does not easily exist; and here we touch matters that we need to treat loftily, and with all possible care. Pride of country! By all means let us cultivate it—stimulate it—brim every American heart with swelling floods of patriotic pride! But pride in what shall it be? We have many things to choose among. What shall we choose? Shall it be our bigness in population and territory? Then the Chinaman and the Russian, to say nothing of the Englishman, can be prouder than we. Shall it be our wealth? Then a little while ago we should have been humble; for our country is a parvenue among the rich nations of the earth. Shall it be our brief battle history? Then the very Tartars of the Asiatic steppes can boast us out of court. Will we expose our national pride to rivalries like these, or will we rest it on the great distinctions by which, at its birth, this Republic of the United States of America was made singular and apart, in kind and character, in motives and aims, from all other nations that have ever existed in the world? No other ever entered its career with a broad and bold declaration of the rights of men, to be consecrated by that declaration to the faithful guardianship of life and liberty and a fair and free pursuit of happiness for all who come within its sphere. No other ever bound itself by a sacred obligation

to remember that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." That is what exalts and distinguishes us among the nations, and, since the first hour of our national life, we have been, with ostentation and iteration, claiming all that it implies. Year by year we have been renewing the great Declaration; teaching it in every school, printing it in every text-book of American politics and history, reading it from ten thousand platforms, until no other confession of political faith was ever so adopted and bound into a nation's creed. Write, anywhere, on any wall, in any continent of the globe, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and ask where it came from. There is only one answer that will be made. It represents the American Republic to men's minds as the flag of stars represents it to their eyes.

That is what we had for the high seat of a loftier national pride than ever bore up the patriotism of any other people. It put barbaric lusts and ambitions under our feet. It forbade to us the mean careers of conquest and imperial rule. It kept us honest and clean-handed, while other nations were scrambling in Africa and Asia and among the islands for territorial spoils. That is what we had for the uplifting of our patriotic pride. If we can not say that we have it now, we are making a startling discovery of failure in the patriotic education of the American people. Some malignant influence must be blinding the eyes of our generation to the unique glory of this unique commonwealth; and, instead of proudly keeping ourselves upon the heights which God and our wise ancestors gave us for an exemplary career, we are suffering ourselves to be lowered in ideals and ambitions to a plane with the unfortunate peoples who never had our opportunity to rise.

I will not believe that we have accepted that lower plane, with deliberate choosing of the vulgar temptations that it spreads. I will not believe that we have more than erred

and lapsed for a moment, and that we shall not uplift ourselves again, with a new consecration of our country to the mission of high example for which it was set apart in its youth.

But if that is not to be—if the old ideals are really to be buried with the moldy rubbish of outworn creeds—let us, at least, be sure that it is not carelessly and thoughtlessly done! Let us, at least, convince ourselves, by honest and sober thinking, that the glory of a great subjugated dominion is better than the glory of a perfected government of the people, by the people, for the people, set shining before the eyes of mankind! If we must have new principles and new standards, God forbid that we take them from German Junkers and British Tories, and do not make them with conscientious deliberation for ourselves!

We say that pride is a patriotic emotion to be studied and cultivated, but so, too, is shame—the shame which is wounded pride. An admiring love of country may be not half so true as a grieving love. It is easy to be proud of one's country, even when the reasons for pride are small; it is very hard to be ashamed for one's country, even when the reasons loom large; and so there is no training that a citizen needs more than one which shall make him sensitive to national misdeeds and mistakes, and courageous in branding them for what they are. But how little toleration is given to that kind of proud sensitiveness, by what conceives itself to be the patriotic public opinion of the world!

There is no country yet civilized so far that great parties in it will not be enraged by the least questioning of any national act of war—by the least resistance of moral sense or common sense to a needless and wicked drawing of the sword—and will not confound all criticism of such national misdeeds with criminal treason to the State. It was such a party in England, last century, that cheered on King

George's war with the American colonies, and howled down Chatham and Burke. It was not a large party to begin with, but it gained numbers by working on the passions that war always stirs up. Said Burke to his Bristol constituents in 1780, "You remember that in the beginning of this American war (that era of calamity, disgrace, and downfall—an era which no feeling mind will mention without a tear for England) you were greatly divided, and a very strong body, if not the strongest, opposed itself to the madness which every art and every power were employed to render popular, in order that the errors of the rulers might be lost in the general blindness of the nation. This opposition continued until after our great but most unfortunate victory at Long Island. Then all the mounds and banks of our constancy were borne down at once, and the frenzy of the American war broke in upon us like a deluge. We lost all measure between means and ends, and our headlong desires became our politics and our morals. All men who wished for peace, or retained any sentiments of moderation were overborne or silenced."

The experience of Burke is repeated continually in all countries where any freedom of opinion prevails, and it is something that demands a conclusive judgment in every man's mind. On which side, in such an instance, does the presumption of patriotism lie? On the side of the thoughtless crowd, which excites itself with war cries, or on that of the philosophic statesman, who studies the welfare and the honor of his country in the large light of history, using scrupulous standards of reason and right? Was Edmund Burke false to England, or was he patriotic, in the anger, the grief and the shame with which he looked on King George's war as an "era of calamity and disgrace"? Was he traitor or patriot in feeling when he deplored, as a misfortune to his country, the victory that encouraged a witless and unrighteous war? That ceased long ago to be

a question in England, and Burke and Chatham have their undisputed place, high among the truest and wisest of English patriots; but let Americans thresh out the moral questions in the case for themselves. I would appoint it to be one of the special studies in patriotism that our children should make. I would have them read and read again the great speeches of those men on the American war, studying the circumstances of the time, the state of English feeling, the replies provoked; and then I would require them to take the whole subject into their thoughts, and form decisions for themselves on all the problems of right and wrong, of public and private obligation and duty, that are involved.

In like manner, I would have our young people induced to make moral studies of other wars; later English wars, for example, that have been grieved over and resisted by such men as John Bright; and I would try to bring our American students of patriotism to a settled judgment, on principle, between the war parties and the peace parties in each such case. I would give them for another subject our own Mexican War. Connected with that I would have them read the "Biglow Papers" of James Russell Lowell, in which he lashed the false pretences of that war; then read the later "Biglow Papers," which throb with the emotion of the War for the Union, and decide whether Lowell was less a patriot in one instance than in the other.

On the more domestic side of a citizen's relations to his country and government, the needs and the opportunities for a patriotic education of the young are certainly no less than on that outer side where wars and violences are chiefly concerned. It seems to me that a patriotic jealousy of public honor is the sentiment most wanting and most capable of being awakened and cultivated in this region of affairs. What I mean is something very different from that vapoing, inflammable jealousy that floats in the air of every country, always ready to be flashed

into flame by any spark of foreign offense, and always doing infinite mischief in the world. I would try to dispel the dangerous part of that sentiment, by convincing our young people that the deadly wounds to a nation's honor are not inflicted by foreign slights or wrongs, but are dealt to itself by its own lapses from righteous ways.

I would try to make them see that nothing which a foreign minister can put into dispatch—nothing that a German admiral could do in Manila Bay—nothing that an English captain could have done in the old days of British arrogance at sea, could be one-half as insolent to our country, one-half as wounding to its honor, as black-mailing political “bosses” and “machines”—as servile legislatures—as money-made Senators—as scores of political gangs have become in our cities and States. There was a time, not long ago, when gentlemen, individually, carried their sense of honor, as nations are doing now, on their sleeves, to be jostled and ruffled by passersby, and hotly defended with a sword always ready on the hip; but they had no consciousness of the brutal bruising that their honor suffered when they fell under the table at their drinking debauches, and slept like snoring swine. Happily, the civilization of gentlemen has gone far enough in our day to leave those fantastic and boorish notions of *personal* honor behind; and surely it is time that kindred conceptions of national honor should be cleared from American minds, if from no others in the world.

But the corporate jealousy that will protect public honor, in nation, state and city, can never have its proper wakening until a keener personal jealousy in our citizenship has been roused singly in us all. Sometimes it seems to me that if we could rightly understand and rightly feel what it is to be an American citizen, we would guard our political rights from impudent trespass more fiercely than pious Moslems keep the holy places of their faith from profana-

tion by an unbeliever's feet. I can imagine a kind of education for the young citizen that would have that effect. It would paint upon his mind such pictures of the painful winning of English liberty and law that he could never think or speak of his heirship in them, nor exercise their franchises, nor ever taste the sweetness of the peace they have brought into his life, without an overwhelming consciousness of the cost which ancestral generations have paid down for them in his behalf. It would put the ballot of free suffrage into his hand as something sanctified by the blood and tears of a thousand cruel years of English history; as something brought to him by a ghostly procession of martyred patriots, martyred thinkers, martyred saints—Lollards, Puritans, Covenanters, Roundheads, Nonconformists, Chartists; victims of the brutal Tudor and the treacherous Stuart; victims of the Star Chamber, the High Commission and the "Bloody Assize"; suffering exiles and pioneers of the wilderness and the sea; and it would fill the air with their voices, whispering to his inward ear: "O man of a fortunate generation, for whom laws have become equal and thought has become free, we give you a happiness that we could not reach for ourselves; and this, which is its title-deed—this charter of your self-sovereignty—what shall it be to you? Shall it be a thing of small worth, to be looked at with indifferent eyes, soiled with unclean fingers, its regal prerogatives flung carelessly to a party and played with in political games? Or shall it be like a good knight's sword, sacred as honor, more precious than life, a trust which no cowardice and no levity may betray?"

I can imagine, I say, a kind of patriotic education which would have that impressive effect, and which would give to the next generation a political conscience very different from the conscience that acts in this. It is an education that cannot be easily given; but no work is easy

that bears great fruit. It must attack and overcome, at the outset, the spirit of party, in which the spirit of patriotism has always encountered its most inveterate foe. I do not know why men should take on the habit of thinking and feeling as partisans more easily than the habit of thinking and feeling as citizens; but they do. The passion of partisanship steals on those who do not resist it; deludes them with a false likeness to the patriotic state of mind; cheats their judgment; saps their independence; misguides their loyalty, and gives to a party or a faction what belongs to the country by every conceivable claim. We can save our young citizen from that beguilement, if we will give him from the beginning a clear understanding of the nature of political parties and the purpose they ought to serve. He should be taught to look at them with a critical, cool eye, as instruments to work with, agencies to be used, servants to be employed. He should enter a political party precisely as he steps into a railway carriage, because it is going his way; because it is moving along a line of principles and measures that leads nearest to the ends which he wishes as a citizen to be carried towards; and he should feel as ready as any traveler to alight if it turns from that way. But men, once ticketed to the train of a party, do often, I believe, make life-long journeys in it, with no heed to its course or destination, kept in it by the mere habit of the company, and carelessly committing their political fortunes to the conductor and the engineer. That seems to be the reason why managers of parties can become masters instead of servants of large bodies of people, who take orders from them without question, and opinions without thought, like the soldiers of a Russian tsar. It is a monstrous travesty of democracy, which could never be played if we were trained royally, as we ought to be, for our sovereign citizenship; trained to bear its sovereign honors with the pride of princes—to use

its sovereign powers with the carefulness of statesmen—to take up its sacred duties with the consecration of priests.

If we will believe in the possibility of such an education as that, the belief will give us half its fruits. It will fill us with the spirit of the patriotism of hope and faith, yearning and striving towards an ideal of one's country as it may be, and adding its passion to the love of one's country as it is. That, after all, has been the perennial source of high patriotic inspiration in the whole history of the world. Men who have toiled and suffered greatly for their country in the past have mostly done so with an expectant love, which found its object in things hoped for more than in things known. The Italy for which Mazzini and Garibaldi strove, fought, plotted, suffered exile and poverty and reproach, during half their lives, was not that broken, deformed, degraded Italy which they dragged at last from under the Austrian heel, but it was the redeemed and regenerated Italy of their faithful dreams.

For us, who are happy in a country so fair and free as this, the love in possession may easily become too satisfying, and chill the desiring and aspiring love which ought to be an equal flame. For a perfect patriotism we need both. No people can keep the good they have won without striving for more. In the lives of nations, as in the lives of men, there is no level place; nor is there any brake that will hold them at rest on the slopes upon which they are set. They must climb or they must slip. Both morally and materially, that is the sternest of facts. To mount or to fall; to grow or to decay; to grasp more of good, or to keep less; to have more freedom or less—more honor or less—more purity or less—are the alternatives of choice. We choose the nobler destiny, of course, when we remember to choose, and are not forgetful of the courage, the labor and the thought that are needful to make our choice good.

It is the forgetting we have to fear. It is against that besetting sin of mankind that we need to keep the prayer of the poet forever in our hearts and on our lips:

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget.

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT

ADDRESS AT A MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED COLLEGE ALUMNI,
AT THE UNIVERSITY CLUB, MAY 27, 1905

BY J. N. LARNED

Gentlemen of the University Club:

I can speak on this subject with a personal feeling which you do not have. You know, by happy possession of it, what the instruction and training, the associations and influences of a college or university can do for a man; I know by the want. I have felt the handicap of the want all my life, and there are no stronger arguments for the undertaking we have met to consider than such as are embodied for me, in my own experience.

Personal circumstances, of course, and personal character, had mostly to do with my privation; but they were not alone. It may be that a more resolute spirit in myself would have carried me to a college and through it; but something was wanting, I am sure, in the spirit of the community, as well as in my own. If I had been bred in New England, every influence around me would have been pushing me toward Harvard, or Yale, or Dartmouth, or Williams, or Amherst, or Bowdoin, or Brown. I should have been made to feel that I *must* climb some higher stairway in learning than that of the common school. The

college would have been a proximate object in my outlook, with the inviting paths to success or satisfaction in life traced plainly to its doors and through its halls. But here, in the Buffalo of my young days, I felt no such pressure upon me. The college seemed hopelessly remote and inaccessible—placed among the luxuries of life, for a favored few. And so, as I look back, I cannot take to myself the whole blame of my surrender to circumstances, and my acceptance of an elementary preparation for the duties and labors of life.

Those conditions of half a century ago, which put the institutions of higher learning so much beyond the common cognizance and thought of this community, have undergone a great change. This club testifies to the multiplication of young men in Buffalo whose studies are carried to the end of a collegiate course. And yet it must be said, I think, that ideas of education, as a serious need in life, which go beyond the range of teaching in our public schools, and desires for that larger education which act with any power upon parents or children, are limited to a class that is relatively very small. No doubt the class has lamentable limits everywhere, even in New England; but I fear we exceed the average in the narrowness of ours. Not because of an intellectual deficiency in our public, but because the agents and the processes of the higher education are represented in little more than theory to our minds. We have been singularly without the least nearness of association with it operatively, in one of its seats. We have not had its teachers to bring the tone and spirit of their scholarship into our society, or its students to carry the infectious ambition of their study into wider circles. Our high schools have raised educational ideals to *their* plane, by such influences, with immense effect; and we can heighten the uplift by heightening the plane of influence. I doubt if we can do it in any other way.

Some have thought it a mistake in our country to divide and scatter the provision of collegiate instruction amongst numerous institutions that are slenderly endowed, instead of concentrating it, with all possible equipments, in a few great university seats. But that view is yielding, I judge, to one that estimates more highly the local attraction and the neighborhood influence that a college exercises even when it is small and comparatively poor.

If the object of our present undertaking was only to enlarge a well-cultured class in the city, and to do that only for the improvement of its members, the purpose would be important enough, but it could hardly furnish grounds for a strong public appeal. In fact, as a general proposition, if the fruits of education were only for the nurturing of the individual who gathers them, the public might reasonably leave him to make his own struggle for it. But most democratic communities have been quick to learn that the public interest in the schools and teaching is equal to the personal interest, if it is not greater; because successful democracy in government is impossible without them. It is an undisputed axiom in this country, that our public schools are the nurseries of good citizenship; and I believe that its popular acceptance as an axiom rests generally upon a broad and true conception of what good citizenship means and is. It contemplates much more than the equipment of knowledge that a school can give. Up to a certain point it implies a full recognition of the plasticity of youth, and the supreme need of care and skillful workmanship upon it, to insure the making of useful good men. But, commonly, that important recognition stops short at the most critical period in youth. It is attentive to the plasticity of the boy, and unmindful of the plasticity of the young man. It assumes that a school which dismisses its students from pupilage at just the age when he is beginning to have the feelings and capabilities of a man has done enough for the

making of the desired good citizen. In reality, this dismissal puts all that has been done for the half-formed youth to the gravest possible risk. The ripening of youth into manhood is still before him; which means the whole conversion of boyish dreams and fancies, boyish thinking, boyish caprices of impulse and will, into determined tendencies of thought, aspiration and purpose in the man. And in that, the very crisis of human growth, the maturing young man is sent forth ordinarily to be exposed to all the hazards of influence encountered in what we describe as business life.

Consider for a moment what those hazards are. Consider them with reference to our public interest, as a community, in the formation of the young man. We want him to become a good citizen, useful in promoting and helpful in defending the public weal. This calls for intelligence, and he can be very usefully intelligent with no teaching beyond that of the elementary school. But it calls furthermore for a large liberation and elevation of mind, to raise it above sordidly selfish aims, above narrowing habits of thought and opinion, above all dishonesties, all servilities, all meannesses of every kind. Where the needed moral largeness has been given by nature to a youth, with a deep fixity in his being, he may be proof against the pressures and strains of that arena of competition that he enters when his life-work begins, even when it begins in the very midst of his youth. On the other hand, if Nature shrank him to a poor pattern in his mother's womb, there may be nothing that could expand him in mind or heart. But those are exceptions to the natural making of character in men. As a rule, the youth who goes early into the world of work and commerce is pliant, more or less, to the forces that play upon him there. And they are forces very trying and very dangerous to most of the higher motives in life. In many ways they act with enormous

power for good, publicly and personally; but there is an unceasing pull in them toward selfishness, toward egoism in all forms, toward hardness, toward aggressiveness, toward small interests and small thoughts—against public spirit and public service—against fellow service—against everything, indeed, that goes to the making of the good citizen of our desire. The evil strain is so insidious that even religion—not religion in its purity and perfection, perhaps, but religion that believes itself to be pure—can be cheated into solemn consecrations of it, with blessing and prayer.

Now, what is there—aside from the moral strength that may be native in him—what is there that will best protect a young man from those narrowing and hardening tendencies in our competitive organization of life? What will do most to withhold him from the sordid and selfish careers that make useless and mischievous citizens? What will do most to keep social and civic and patriotic and altruistic feeling alive in him? Why, assuredly, it is a full-fed mind, left with no leanness or scantness in its growth. Assuredly it is an early armoring of the man with fine tastes, high thoughts, large views—too fine, too high, too large to be reconcilable with an ignoble course in life. That, as I conceive it, is what liberal education—liberal culture—means for our democracy. It holds the vitalizing leaven of an influence which democracy can spare no more than it can spare the elementary under-culture of its common schools.

I have been thinking and speaking of conditions as they are. What of those that we can see to be coming, and for which we are bound to provide? The sinister influences that we have to contend with are a rising tide. Everything that produces them increases and spreads. In all fields of labor and all marts the competitive struggle grows harder and fiercer each year. Wealth, not as a reasonable

providence for safe, comfortable and useful living, but in the measure of monstrous hoards, for show and for power, bulks bigger and more fascinating among the objects of ambition and pursuit. Disinterested public service is obstructed and discouraged by machinism in our political system more and more. We take into our political constituencies more and more of ignorance and political inexperience from the old world. Everything considered, it is an almost appalling educational task that we face.

And nowhere more so than in this city of ours. We expect for Buffalo a great growth. The grounds of the expectation are a vastly enlarged canal, a prodigious development of electric power at our doors, an immense concentration of steel and iron production by our side, an always widening command of transportation facilities by water and rail—and nothing in economic forecast could seem to be more sure. It puts before us the prospect of a huge population, in more or less divided masses; a great army of common laborers, another of skilled workmen, another of clerical employees, all in the service and under the command of a powerful body of the capitalist—captains of industry and trade; and every one of these masses of people—the capitalists no less than the laborers—will need all the lift of public spirit that can move them, from all possible sources of light and leading, if they are to work effectively together for the common good. In some views the prospect of a populous and busy great city may be one to exult in; but in this view it presents a future that we cannot contemplate without serious anxiety and a profound sense of duties that are loud in their call. If we enter that future of Buffalo with no attempt to bring influences to bear on its swelling multitudes from higher ranges of culture than are touched by our excellent grammar and high schools, we shall pay, or our children must pay, some heavy penalty for the neglect.

It is needless, then, to say that the appeal in this undertaking is not to civic pride. What it must waken is the consciousness of a great public need—of a need as substantial in its bearing on even the material well-being of the city as the need of a better union railway station, or of a better water supply, or of a better city government. Let no one be left to suppose that we want a College of Liberal Arts for the name of it, or for the rounding out of our half-formed University of Buffalo. We want it as we want churches, libraries, art galleries, museums, clubs like this, and every social institution and organization that can influence the character and spirit of the city for good. We want it as we want everything that can liberate and liberalize capable minds; that can interest them in values not measurable by the standard dollar; that can weaken the increasing money-worship of the time, and lessen the discords which that worship brings into all spheres of industrial life. Whatever is helpful to those ends gives an augmentation of power to the community for all movements of its progress, on every line. It does so by contributing to social harmony, and so helping to aggregate the energies and capabilities that are individualized in the social body, restraining them from needless rivalries and strife. In a word, it contributes to a culture of spirit which is the ultimate of civilization, and for which all the ponderable and purchaseable gifts of civilization are but a means to an end—which we are prone to forget.

THE PEACE-TEACHING OF HISTORY¹

BY J. N. LARNED

The staple of History has always been War. Exhibiting the most forceful as well as the most brutal activity of men, it has shaped most of the primary conditions of life for all communities of the human race. In some way it has determined the career of most nations, from beginning to end.

Personally, in all ages, men have given themselves sacrificially to war more devotedly than to anything else. Collectively, in their tribes and in their corporate states, nations, and empires, they have given to nothing else such assiduous thought and care. For nothing else have they striven so untiringly to perfect themselves. To no other art have they ever applied so much of their minds and their means. To no other purpose have the resources of their knowledge been so strained, from the first rudiments of primitive invention down to the latest attainments of the science of the present hour. Their armies, their fleets, their weapons, their military systems, whether barbaric or feudal or modern, have always exemplified the highest constructive and organizing attainments of the latest day.

War, then, represents the most continuous, the most universal, the most impassioned and energetic of the collective undertakings and activities of mankind throughout the long past. It has exercised them in intellect and feel-

1. Reprinted by permission from *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1908.

ing, trained the natural forces in them, worked upon their ambitions, molded national character among them, far more than any other. Of all subjects in history, therefore, it calls for the gravest treatment, and, as a rule, it is not so treated. It supplies to history, as a mere tale of the adventures of man in the world, the more enlivening elements of the story, the more dramatic situations, the more fascinating actors; but, as having a distinct and immense importance in itself, apart from its incidents and apart from the personalities concerned in it—as being a tremendously dominating influence in history, to be investigated and profoundly considered as such—how often is it brought to our consciousness by anything we find in a historical work?

The writers and teachers of history lead us into every other special field of human action and make us attentive to the particularities of its importance; to the influences that have worked in it, for and against the welfare and advancement of mankind; to the causes and consequences that are traceable into and from it through wide surroundings of social condition and event. We are stopped thus everywhere in the presentations of history, to contemplate governments, religions, movements of trade, industry, invention, growths of literature and art. But it is not often that we are brought to the same consideration of what, in their nature and their importance, the influences and the consequences of war have been.

Yet all other influences and consequences have been secondary and subordinate to those of war. When we examine the constitutions and institutions of national government, we find more of their provisions and adjustments directed to anticipated contingencies of war than to any other object for which nations organize their rule. Four of the seven articles of our Federal Constitution as it was framed originally, and eight of the twenty-three sections into which they are divided, contain something of reference

to that contingency. Eleven of the thirty-two clauses which define the legislative and executive powers of the general government and those withheld from the states are concerned with the same. Elsewhere in the world, the organization and preparation of nations for conflict with one another enter into the construction of their governments in a measure far greater than this.

When we look at religions in their historical exhibition, we find them moving the greatest masses of men to the greatest animation when their differences have furnished pretexts for war; and we might be taught that very much of what goes into history under the name and show of religion is only the war-passion disguised. But how often are we led to see it so?

When we turn to the scrutiny of commerce as an active agent in the making of history we see a different but even larger intermixture of its incentives and workings with those of war. The two coarse passions, the combative and the acquisitive, which can be the most powerful in human nature if not mastered by moral and intellectual strains, have been in alliance from the beginning of the social state, each using the other for the satisfactions it has craved. The warriors have always been eager and busy in the service of the traders, to break openings for their reaping in wider fields, and the traders have always been ready to give them that employ.

When we study the sciences and the industrial arts in their relation to the historical activities of mankind, they amaze us and grieve us by the alacrity of their devotion to the purposes of battle. It may be that as much knowledge and invention has gone, first and last, to the easing and bettering of the conditions of life in the world as has gone to the production of guns, projectiles, explosives, mines, torpedoes, fortifications, battleships, armies; but that is far from sure.

As for literature, if we should separate all that it has drawn from war of incident, inspiration, motive, color, excited imagination and emotion, would there be a remaining half of equal spirit and power? I fear not.

It is, then, the hideous fact of the recorded past of mankind, that its exhibit of men in battle, or planning and preparing themselves for battle, or glorying in memories of battle, is the most persistent and conspicuous exhibition that it has to make. It is the most hideous of historical facts, but its hideousness is not made impressive to us in history, as history is too commonly written and taught. It ought to fill us so with horror and pain that the shows and trumpetings, the heroic and tragic romance, which garnish it and disguise the underlying savagery of it, could never divert our thought from its meaning of shame to the human race; but it does not.

I think the main cause of this is not far to seek. Each generation of the past, in leaving its records to posterity, has left them permeated with its own feelings and judgments—its own estimates and valuing of men and things—its own admirations—its own ideals. These carry an influence which has stayed more or less through all the centuries, in the impression which historical reading and study have made on successive generations of mankind. To this day it is hard for us to think of what was done in ancient Judea or Greece or Rome with feelings that are really fit and natural to the moral and rational state of the modern mind. Our ethical and logical standards, considered abstractly, at least, differ widely from those of the pre-Christian ages; but how easily we can read the Hebrew chronicles and the Greek and Roman histories, with no more than half-consciousness of the difference, and with less than half-consciousness of the moral infidelity, which this involves.

It is only by a determined effort that we can realize how much of a coloring from primitive ideals of excellence and

primitive conceptions of right has been carried down the current of written history, and how much of modern feeling takes a tone from it that is untrue to modern knowledge and belief. Its most mischievous perversion is in the admirations it keeps alive, for actors in history who were naturally admirable to their own times, but who cannot with reason be admirable to us. The heroes of an age and a people who imagined for divinity itself nothing loftier than the attributes of the gods of Olympus ought not to be the heroes of a generation which looks to Jesus of Nazareth as the perfected man; but what homage we pay even yet to the memory of men in Greek and Roman history who looked heroic to their contemporaries because they fought with surpassing valor and strength, whatever the object, whatever the motive, whatever the consequences of their fighting might be!

In the early stages of civilization, when social order is but beginning to take form, strife is a normal exercise of body, will, intellect, and energy in men; and it is natural that they should look to it for the high tests of human superiority. To society in that state war could not look otherwise than glorious, because it afforded those glorifying tests; and Poetry was born then, in passionate song-bursts of admiration for the invincible warriors of the tribe. Those birth-songs of poetry, which glorified war and the heroes of war, in Homeric Greece, in the Rome of the kings and the early republic, in the younger ages of all peoples who have sung any songs of praise, seem to have been powerfully the carriers of that glorification, out of times and conditions in which they expressed a natural feeling into conditions and times in which the feeling was wholly natural no longer. From generation to generation poetry has inspired poetry, arousing the emotion that demands it for utterance, and each has sent forward its motives and its themes. In that way the primitive hero-motive of the poets went into history

and has been projected through it, from first to last, with an influence much greater than we comprehend.

Of course that influence has always found lingering barbarisms of temper in large parts of all society to nourish it well; but *it* has nourished *them* even more, and they would not otherwise have kept the mischievous vitality they have to this day.

On the rational side of their nature men have always, in the process of civilization, been taking slowly into their understanding and belief a code of morality that would question every war, to find whether or no it could show on either side a necessity of defense that gave righteousness to that side; and that would put every hero of battle on trial, to learn what it was that he fought for and with what warrant he slew his fellow men. Civilization could not be a process of rational evolution if it did not work toward moral enlightenments like that. And it has. But feeling is stronger than reason in the majority of mankind, and antiquity, even primitive antiquity, has been able to transmit to us a thousand times more of its feelings than of its beliefs.

If history, in its large sense, embracing the whole literature of the past, serves as the vehicle of that transmission, the fault is our own; for it does not proffer to us from its cargoes what we are choosing to take. In all its showing of the conflicts of nations, races, parties, religions, its appeal to us intellectually is for abhorrence of one side or both sides of every war that ever was fought. It never justifies forgetfulness of the awful crime that is somewhere in every war, or indifference to the placing of the crime, or admiration for any performance of ability or bravery in the committing of the crime. If we permit ourselves to feel that indifference of admiration for deeds which morally indifferent generations in the past have called heroic, we are simply servile to traditional habits of feeling, and do a wicked violence to our own better knowledge of right.

And this tends to deprave the moral judgment we exercise on kindred deeds of our own time. If the blood-drenched figure of Napoleon shines heroical and glorious in the eyes of more than half of the people of the Christian world today, it is mainly because they see only his likeness in kind to Alexander of Macedon, to Julius Cæsar, to Charlemagne, and feel impelled by what we may call the habit of the ages to make their estimate of him correspond with the Greek, the Roman, and the mediæval estimate of them. Let us not blame history for bringing thus the barbaric standards of twenty centuries ago to the weighing and measuring of this modern prodigy of atavic barbarism. As much as we allow it to do so, history will keep to each age its own gauges of human quality, its own rules of conduct, its own heroes. When they are shifted out of place and bring confusions, perversions, distortions of moral sense into our view of events and of men in our own day, we do it ourselves; and in doing it we are false to the study and teaching of historical truth.

Not many of us go far enough in the following of Christ to feel that no wrong and no blow should be resisted, and that there can be no righteousness in war. But we cannot read history with just attention to motives in it and be doubtful of the wicked criminality of all wars on one or the other side, and of most wars on both sides. In many conflicts each party has persuaded itself that a righteous necessity compelled it to take arms; but the righteous necessity was never imperative to both; and the strict showing of history will concede it very seldom to either. Almost always, on the defensive as well as on the aggressive side of a war, there has been enough of wrongful temper, of needless provocation, of inward willingness for the sword, to burden it with a serious share of guilt.

We tried long to hold the fathers of this republic wholly blameless for the war in which they won its inde-

pendence; but the farther we have been moved out of the atmosphere of their time the more impossible it has become for us not to see that some considerable excuses, at least, were given to the British government for the angry un-wisdom of its measures, and that all the belligerent temper which exploded in a revolutionary war was not engendered in the cabinet and court of King George.

In like manner, the clarifying, cooling influence of time is working among us, in the North and in the South, a modification of our views of the sectional temper that was heated on each side to its conflagration in the terrible Civil War. Reason and just feeling compel us, in both sections, to see a large action of motives and excitements and instigations on both sides of the whole issue concerning slavery that were not purely patriotic, nor purely moral, nor purely from any unselfish conviction of right. I think there was never more of sincerity and pure motive in any war than in that; but it is clear to me that even that was an unnecessary war; because the best mind and the best feeling of the people never had control, on either side, of the discussion of the questions that led them into it. Influences more partisan than patriotic, and more of passion than of principle, were working for years to push the sections into conflict, and they did not work on one side alone.

We often say of the Civil War that it was inevitable; and that is true if we mean what Christ meant when He said, "It must needs be that offences come." In His thought He reckoned the inevitableness of wrong-doing among men, and was pointing to no necessity which they do not themselves create; for He added, "But woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." Of all offences to God and man, that of war is assuredly the blackest we know or can conceive; and if ever we find reason to say of any war that "it must needs be," let us take care to remember that men have made the need; that the woe and the crime of it are on their

heads; and that we must not look for the whole guilt on one side.

History, written with truth and read with candor, carries this teaching always; and my plea is for graver attention to it than our tradition-colored habits of mind incline us to give. Especially in the introduction of the young to historical reading, it seems to me of great importance that we train them to a justly abhorrent attitude of mind toward war; to such an attitude of thought and feeling as will check the easy excitement of interest in armies and commanders and incidents of battle, awakening a moral and rational interest instead. If they read a story of war with the feeling that it is the story of somebody's or some nation's crime, they are sure to be moved to a judicial action of mind, and find their liveliest interest in searching out and apportioning the guilt. By this leading they can be carried into more or less critical studies of the moral, the political, and the economic antecedents of a war, scrutinizing the right and the wrong, the practical wisdom or the unwisdom, the true or the false reasoning, in public policy, in popular feeling, in the aims and measures of statesmen, that are discoverable to them in the doings and disputes that brought it about.

For example, in our own history, if young students of it, when they approach the occurrence of the War with Mexico, in 1846-47, are led to a serious examination of the circumstances which preceded it, not casually, as if they were only pursuing a common routine in the learning of facts, but with the especial attentiveness of a feeling that the conduct of their country is to be judged, as to its consistency with principles of right and plain rules of honor, the investigation cannot fail to interest them, generally, more than the mere story of the battles of the war. And it will give them new moral convictions, and a new conception of patriotism; for they will begin to see that a true lover of his country



must care more for keeping uprightness and honor in the conduct of its government than for having victories in battle with other peoples to boast of, or for having conquered populations to rule, and conquered lands to cultivate, and conquered ports for extended commerce, and augmented wealth in conquered mines.

And when such young students discover, as they will, that the taint of dishonor, of false pretense, of iniquitous motive, is in all the procedure by which our government forced Mexico to engage in war with us; when they read the words of Benton, and of other honorable leaders of the party in power, who proclaimed and denounced the flagrant wickedness of its course, and when they note the emphasis of the vote in the elections by which a majority of the people condemned it,—then, if they are reminded of the value to us of California, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and large parts of Colorado, Wyoming, and Arizona, with Texas stretched to the Rio Grande, which were our conquests in the war, and are asked, “How could we afford to do without them today?”—then, I say, they will be brought face to face with such a question as will probe their moral sense to its depths, and have, on the moral side of their education, a tremendous effect.

Can anything that a nation gains by a wantonly wicked, aggressive war be thought of by honest citizens as the justification of its war? Can a nation win covetable territory by means that would be criminal and shameful to an individual if he used them for winning his neighbor's lands, and yet not be criminal, or disgraced, or merit less from its citizens of their fealty and love? Can a man uphold his country in an aggressive war with less wrong-doing than if the aggression were his own? If such questions could be threshed out with earnest thoroughness, again and again, as they arise naturally in historical study, and in their bearing upon the facts of particular wars, I am sure that a new

aspect would be given in another generation to the whole subject of war.

Now that the nations of the world are instituting a great, august tribunal for hearing and adjudicating disputes among them that threaten war, we may hope that it will become a prevailing, natural habit, in the reading and study of history, to imagine a summoning of the authors of past wars to submit the grounds of their contentions to such a court. Apply that imagination, for example, to the abominable wars of the eighteenth century, in which half the world was desolated and tormented by thieves' quarrels among the monarchs and ministers of Europe, in the evil time of their unrestrained power! Apply it to the War of the Spanish Succession, or to the War of the Austrian Succession, or to the Seven Years' War. Imagine a bench of disinterested and honorable jurists attempting to give serious hearings and decisions as to whether Louis the Fourteenth may repudiate the solemn engagements that he entered into when he married the Infanta of Spain and joined her in renouncing all contingent claims to the Spanish crown; or whether Frederick the Great and his confederates may attack and despoil Maria Theresa, whose inheritance of the Austrian dominions of her father they had pledged themselves to uphold; or whether Maria Theresa and Catherine of Russia may revenge themselves on Frederick by organizing a powerful combination to carve and partition his kingdom!

There is no slightest open question between right and wrong to be found in the origin of one of those wars. There is nothing to argue about in the grounds on which they were fought. They offered, therefore, no case that could come before a tribunal like that of The Hague. And, what is more to be considered, no tribunal of that character could exist under the conditions which produced such wars. From which it follows, that the conditions producing a Hague tribunal are conditions that may fairly be expected to ex-

tinguish the possibility of wars as openly wicked as those into which Europe and colonial America were dragged by Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth of France and Frederick of Prussia, called the Great. A generation that is able to contemplate the submission of its national disputes to a rational adjudication cannot easily be tolerant of a war that has no rationally debatable cause. We have gone far in the way of civilization within the past century and a half if we have come to this; and, realizing the advance, we realize how much of the actuality of civilization lies in the movement toward suppression of war.

Yet war has not only its tolerant apologists, who look upon it as a necessary evil, but its admiring upholders, who commend it as an exercise of energies and virtues in man which his best development requires. In their view he could not be manly if he did not sometimes fight like a wild beast. Courage, resolution, independence, love of liberty, would suffer decay. Rights no longer to be contended for and defended would be valued no more. Peace, in a word, would emasculate the race. Does history sustain such a view? Not at all. The peoples which have exercised their self-asserting energies most in war are the peoples in whom those energies went soonest and most surely to decay.

Among the strong nations of the ancient East, the Assyrian pursued the busiest, most constant career of war; and its end was the most absolute extinction, leaving the least mark of itself behind. What has value in the ruins of its buried cities is what it took from the more ancient Babylonia. Among the Greeks, it was the Spartans who illustrated the fruits of the culture of war; and how much of Greek influence in history came from them? The Romans were a great people, doing a great work in the world,—for how long? Till they had exhausted the forces of genius and character that were native in them by persisting in war; and the exhaustion had begun before the republic went

down and the empire took its place. The Romans had then organized and given their name to a great incorporation of the energies of many other peoples,—Latin, Greek, Gallic, Germanic; but the freshening absorption only retarded and did not arrest the decay. If war could ever invigorate and better a people we should surely have seen the effect in the history of Rome, and, surely, we do not.

Among modern peoples the French have had the most of whatever culture war can give; and the French have a less hopeful future than any other important people in Europe today. On the other hand, the English have been and are, unquestionably, the people of highest achievement in the modern world; the people who have done most for the liberation and general uplift of mankind; and, of all who inhabit Europe, the English have had the least of whatever culture war and battle can give. If this seems to be a misstatement, bear in mind that the many wars of England have been naval more than military, involving relatively few men in actual fight; that she has used soldiers who were not of English blood, from subject races or subsidized allies, to a great extent in her wars; that a large British army, on the scale of the armies of Germany and France, has rarely been seen on any battlefield; that Englishmen had never had, since Cromwell's day, at least, so extensive and so serious a personal experience of war as that which they went through in their late conflict with the Boers. It is no exaggeration, then, to say that the qualities exhibited by the people of English blood have been developed less by the culture of battle than those of any other living race, and that the barbaric doctrine which commends war as an exercise necessary to the moral training of mankind, is refuted sufficiently by that single fact.

It is far from my thought to question the moral nobility of the spirit which accepts battle as a stern, imperious, terrible duty of defense, when home and country, or sacred

rights and institutions, are wickedly assailed. Then it is self-sacrifice, the very sublimation of the human soul. Then it is purely and truly heroic, and uplifts humanity by inspiring example. But courage and fierce energy of the kind to which battle is attractive,— what good to the world can come from the cultivation of them? They are forces, to be sure, that have usefulness in other exercises than that of war. They are part of the power which drives men in that conquest of Nature which we call the material progress of the world; but are they not the part of that power which is ruthless, oppressive, dangerous to society, by the hard, aggressive selfishness with which it works against the common good?

But, leaving that question aside, and assuming that the coarsely militant courage and militant energy, as well as the courage and the energy that are militant only when duty makes them so, are good qualities in men, and to be cultivated for the improvement of the race, we are confronted by the discouraging fact that the very process of cultivation is destructive of the good effect we seek. We exercise the fighting temper in men by war, and kill them in the exercise, or keep them from marriage, and, in one or the other way, lessen the breeding of the quality of man that we are supposed to be endeavoring to increase. Every great war is a dangerous drain upon the stock of valor and fortitude in the spirit of the peoples engaged; and the drain runs near to the dregs when war succeeds war, as it does and will if war is believed to be a national good. There has been no lack of assiduity in the cultivation of humanity by war; and what has the product been? Look at the training-grounds of Europe, where the schooling has been busiest and longest, and see!

History, not well studied, but written or read lightly, for its incidental romance, can make no other impression than those I have alluded to at the beginning of my paper. War puts a deluding emphasis on its own part of the story by its

rubrication of the text. The past has tintured it with states of feeling and thinking which ought to have faded long ago, in the light of increasing knowledge and in the warmth of the increasing neighborliness of mankind, but which stay and give their color to the influence of historical reading, if we take it with no proper filtration through the moral beliefs of our own day. The songs of the heroes of those ages when battle was a normal exercise of high qualities in men can still play upon our imaginative and sympathetic brains, just as the trumpets, the drums, the fifes, the banners, the plumes, the splendid pageantry of a marching army can play on our quivering nerves of bodily sense.

A poet, Richard Le Gallienne, has described the deceit of the emotion in exquisite verse:—

War
I abhor,
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of drum and fife! And I forget
Wet eyes of widows, and forget
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul.

The tears fill my astonished eyes,
And my full heart is like to break;
And yet 't is all embannered lies,
A dream those little drummers make.

PREPARE FOR SOCIALISM¹

BY J. N. LARNED

Indifference to the modern socialistic movement is fast becoming an impossible attitude of mind. Friendliness or hostility to it, in some degree, must come into the feeling of everybody who gives the slightest heed to the auguries of our time; for the movement has now gathered a momentum that will carry it surely to some vital and momentous outcome of change in the economic organization of society. If this is not to be calamitous, but is to realize in any measure the good equalities and satisfactions which Socialists expect, that happy result can arrive only in communities which have forethoughtfully safeguarded themselves, with all the wisdom they possess, against ruinous recklessness or perfidy in the working out of so critical a change. It is nowhere too soon to take serious thought of what we need to be doing in such preparation.

Our first thought in that direction must be of the several forces which enter into the problem we deal with. These, in the main, are the forces of opinion which act on the propositions of Socialism from different dispositions of mind.

The possible attitudes of thought and feeling on the subject are six in number, to wit:—

1. That of the radical disciples of Karl Marx — the organized “Social Democrats” of many countries — who rep-

1. Reprinted by permission from *The Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1911.

resent most logically the doctrines of modern Socialism, as formulated by Marx; who regard their undertaking as a class-revolt (of the wage-workers), and who contemplate the desired transfer of capital from individual to collective ownership and management as an achievement of revolution, which may be violent, if violence is necessary, when adequate power shall have been secured.

2. That of others in the same wage-earning class who have not answered the socialistic call, nor openly assented to its dogmas, but whose circumstances must incline them to be wistful listeners to its promises and appeals.

3. That of people who approve, on principle, the social rearrangements contended for by Marx and his followers, regarding them as desirable, because just; but who would seek to attain them by cautious and gradual processes, and would give no support to any program of hasty revolution.

4. That of people who are, or hope to be, gainers personally from the existing economic system, with its limitless opportunities of profit to individuals of the capitalized class, and who see nothing but wicked attack on their personal rights in the proposed limitation of private capital and its gains.

5. That of people who are not thus biased against the socialistic project by a personal interest in present economic arrangements, but who do not believe that productive industries and exchanges can be operated with success in the mode proposed, and who fear failure in the attempt, with serious wreckage of the social fabric and much demoralization of mankind.

6. That of people who have not yet given enough attention to the socialistic movement to have a thought or a feeling about it.

The first and fourth of these groups are the centers of the antagonism developed by the social-economic doctrines of Marx, and the outcome of that antagonism will depend on the action of forces from these two on the other four. At the two sources of opposing motive, the mainsprings of energy are nearly, but not quite, the same. Self-interest may be as dominant among the Socialist workingmen as among their capitalistic opponents; and it may be tempered on one side by solicitude for the general welfare as much as by sympathetic class-feeling on the other; but the self-interest of the capitalist, whose ample means of living are secure, has a very different spur from that of the workingman, whose daily wants are tethered by his daily wage. In the needs, the desires, the hopes, the fears, the uncertainties of the socialistic wage-worker, there is an animus which the mere appetite of capital for its own increment can never excite.

In their intensity, therefore, the opposing influences that work in this contention are unevenly matched; and there is still more disparity between them in the compass of their action. All of the wage-workers of the world are possible recruits to be won for Socialism, and they outnumber all other divisions of civilized mankind. They make up the first and second orders of the classification set forth above, and the second of these stands plainly in the relation of a waiting-list to the first. In Continental Europe its constituents are passing over in always swelling numbers to the party which claims and expects to secure them all. In Great Britain and America the draft into Socialism from the ranks of labor is slower; but, even as indicated in socialistic political organization and voting (which must be far short of a showing of the whole movement), it goes on with persistent increase.

On the other side of the issue, while the people who have a personal stake in the capitalistic system form a numerous body, it does not compare in numbers with the opposing

host. It exercises powers, at present, which are far beyond measurement by its numbers, but they are powers created by the economic conditions of today, and dependent on states of feeling which have no fortitude or staying quality in them, but which can be broken into cowardly panic by the most trifling alarm. For resistance to an undertaking of social revolution, nothing weaker than a capitalistic party could be made up. Its strength in the pending contest with Socialism is practically the strength of the alliances it can form. It may seem to have an assured body of important allies in the fifth group defined above; but how far is that assured? The people of the group in question are essentially disinterested and open-minded, and their judgment in this grave matter is subject to change. Their number appears to have been greater a few years ago than now. Many who belonged to it once have gone over into the company of the third group, persuaded that hopes from the justice of the socialistic project are more to be considered than fears of its adventuresomeness, if the venture be carefully made. How these people will be moved hereafter is most likely to depend on the direction which the socialistic movement takes,—whether toward revolutionary rashness, under the control of the radical Marxians, or along the Fabian lines projected by the prudent Socialists of our third group. At all events, there is no certainty of persistent opposition to Socialism from any large part of this fifth class; and obviously there is nothing to be counted on, for either side, from that remainder of thoughtless folk who know nothing, and care nothing, as yet, about this momentous question of the day.

All considered, the appearances, as I see them, are distinctly favorable to the socialistic movement, thus far. It is a movement which moves continuously, with no reactionary signs. The influences in it are active on the greater masses of people, and, whether selfish or altruistic, they have the stronger motive force. It is a movement of such nature,

in fact, as seems likely to break suddenly, some day, into avalanches and floods.

What then? Suppose the spread of socialistic opinion to be carried in this country to the point of readiness for taking control of government, and that we then find awaiting it the same political conditions that exist today! The Socialist party, in that case, would simply take the place of our Republican or our Democratic party, as "the party in power," and would exercise its power in the customary party modes. The keen-scented fortune-hunters and professional experts of politics would already have swarmed to it from the old parties; would have wormed themselves into its counsels and perfected its "organization," with a full equipment of the most approved "machines." Then the nationalizing and the municipalizing of productive industries, and the taking over of capital from private to collective ownership, would begin. Some Croker or Murphy would be found to "boss" the management of the operation in New York, some Quay in Pennsylvania, some Gorman in Maryland, and so on, throughout the land.

This is no wild fancy as to what must occur, if the projects of Socialism are to be carried out while political conditions — political habits in the country and the make and character of parties — remain as they now are. If the experiment of Socialism were to be undertaken today, it would have its trial under that sort of handling, and by no possibility could it have any other. Nor, indeed, can it ever have any other, unless the whole theory and practice of party politics in the United States are recast, with a new and strong injection into them of conscience and rationality.

In other words, if we are pushed, by the spread of socialistic opinion, into attempts at a governmental ownership and management of productive industries, without a previous reformation of our political system, we shall inevitably be carried to a disaster so great that imagination can hardly picture it to one's mind. No sane Socialist, however firm

his faith in the workability of the social-industrial scheme, can dream of its working otherwise than disastrously in the hands of party managers, as parties are now organized and managed with the consent and connivance of the people who make them up. Nor can he reasonably believe that a Socialist party can grow up side by side with the parties of our present politics, play the game of politics with them, win the prize of political power from them, and then use that power as the theory of Socialism requires it to be used,—without partisan spoliation or personal “graft.”

It comes, then, to this: If possibilities of good to society are in the socialistic scheme, they are obviously and absolutely dependent on the discretion, the honesty, the social sincerity and good faith with which it is carried into effect. A reckless and knavish corruption of the undertaking so to revolutionize the social economy could produce nothing else than the worst wreckage that civilized society has known. Hence the question between possibly beneficent and inevitably calamitous results from the undertaking is a question of character in the government to which it is trusted. The present character of government in our country, throughout its divisions, controlled as it is by self-seeking professional managers of political parties, is not to be thought of as one which could work the socialistic experiment to any other than the destructive result. The conditions that give this character to our political parties, and through them to the government which they control alternately, will surely give the same character to a socialistic party, if it grows up under their action, and approaches an attainment of power while they prevail.

But it is so growing, and seems more than likely to arrive at power to control some, at least, of our divisions of government at no far distant day. Therefore, the most urgent of all reasons for a resolute, radical, and immediate reformation of parties and the politics they embody is found in the progress of socialistic belief.

EVIL

A DISCUSSION FOR THE TIMES

BY J. N. LARNED

EVIL:

A DISCUSSION FOR THE TIMES¹

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At an uncertain time, not long ago, in a remote community, there was held a great council of thoughtful men, who sought a common understanding and agreement as to what relief from the evils that afflict mankind may, with reasonableness, be pleaded for to the throne of Heaven. Of their number, or of circumstances of their meeting, there is no discoverable journal or report; but, fortunately, some notes of the debate that occurred have come to light.

It appears from these notes that discussion in the council was opened by a question from the presiding officer, who asked: "Have we any supreme desire in our minds which claims consideration first?" An eager voice answered: "To have no more death in the world"; and other voices joined the cry. But they were hushed when one, venerable in years, who wore the flowing robes of the East, stood forth and spread out his hands, as though silence must come at his bidding. "Be not in haste, O my brother," he appealed, "to deliver yourselves from Death; to live may so easily be more dreadful than to die. Before we ask for the closing of the door of escape from life by the tomb, let us take care that we are not accepting a captivity which we cannot

1. From the *Hibbert Journal* (Eng.), July, 1913.

endure. How shall we dare to fling away our hope of a better world without assurance of some better state of existence in this? Oh, beware! The question concerning Death is not the first that we need to set our minds upon, but the very last of all. Let it wait, I beseech you."

Quick assent to this appears to have been given by controlling numbers in the assembly, and an order of procedure was now adopted which brought first into debate this question: "*Shall God be asked to take away from men the afflictions of disease and pain that torment their flesh?*"

When two or three had spoken favorably of this, one arose who said: "We are commissioned, as we believe, to submit to the Divine Ruler of the universe such desires concerning the evils that afflict us as 'find clear approval in our minds,' after 'careful thought.' Can any among us have given careful thought to human suffering from ills of the flesh without learning that mostly, if not wholly, they are of man's own making? With every increase of our knowledge we find more and more of our maladies starting plainly from our own ill-dealing with ourselves. What we know of this already affords fair reason for believing that the bodily ills of humanity are wholly of its own creation and within its own control. What then? Shall we ask the Lord, not only to restore health and vigor to bodies that we have wrecked by abuse, but to keep them whole, though we abuse them still? If we herd a million human beings in some narrow city, multiply its walls and the shadow of its walls around them, veil the light of the sun with smoke, poison the air above and the ground beneath with foul secretions, shall we implore Heaven to stifle the fevers for which we are responsible? If the common carelessness of mankind leaves some filthy corner of the world to breed the winged germs of a deadly pestilence until they increase beyond control and are swept across the face of the earth, shall we ask for angels to stand in the way and turn back the plague?"

Shall we ask God's permission to be brutish, to be dissolute, to be improvident, to be needlessly ignorant and then to suffer no harm?"

The speaker paused, and a voice from the assemblage cried: "Surely it is possible for the omnipotent Author of our Being to endow us with bodies that will not sicken, or with minds more competent for safeguarding them. Why should we not ask for this?"

"The omnipotence of God," replied another, "is the omnipotence of perfect reason and righteousness. Its own inerrancy must set bounds to it. It cannot conceivably do anything other than the best. How then can we hope for any other deliverance from ills of the flesh than we now have—namely, the way of Death?"

"But who knows," rejoined the same contentious voice, "who knows that Death is a deliverance, and not an extinguishment and an end?"

"In the common manner of knowing, no man *knows*," was the reply. "But there are some among us who have a faith which is firm, and there are others who have a hope that is strong; and those who find neither the faith nor the hope may not have looked for them with an open eye."

"And if," said another, "we have no more than the *hope* that life is not ended for us, but only changed, with some blessed enfranchisement, by the mysterious touch of Death, that hope is more reasonable than the sceptic attitude which refuses it. It has more to rest on; for the feeling of life is solely in this conscious part of us which we call spirit or mind. We identify life with that, never with the bodily part of us which lies outside of every feeling in us that hints of deathlessness. We know that life is alien to its flesh, which lives while it lives by stress of something that is not in itself. We have, therefore, an expectation of decay and death for the body; but why should we carry over ~~that~~ expectation to the spirit which dwells in the body?"

Nothing that we know bids us do so; no instinctive feeling in us leads that way. It seems to be a needless choosing of despair instead of hope, if we incline against belief in a future life of the soul."

This was challenged by a questioner who asked: "Can you, with what you doubtless know of the functions of the brain, form a rational conception in your mind of conscious life without the agency of brain to produce it?"

"No," was the reply; "nor can I shape a distinct thought of mind or conscious life as of something that issues *from* the ponderable and palpable substance of the brain and is extinguished by the dissolution of that substance. It is with me as I judge it to be with all of us. Our thought of this great mystery is indistinct. It lures us to a region of thought in which we find nothing for the shaping of defined concepts, and where we can use no formulas of the logic we apply in argument to tangible things. We bring then into action some superlogical power of the mind—intuition, insight, instinct, we call it—which is not of the essence of strict reason, but may sometimes be truer in judgment than reason."

This point was questioned no further; but a voice from the more remote seats of the chamber was heard to ask: "If we may not petition for release from the ills of the flesh, what hinders us from asking, at least, that when our bodies are diseased we may be spared the torments of pain?" This drew quickly from another distant voice the counter-question: "What is pain? It is the outcry, is it not, of our sentient flesh when harm comes to it, its signal of distress, its call for help, the physician's summons and his guide? Without its warning we should be consumed secretly by disease, and Death would steal on us unawares. Are we ready to invoke consequences like these?"

There was a moment of silence, until a new turn in the discussion was started by a speaker who said: "Thus far

in our inquiry we have touched only one type of the maladies which oppress mankind. There are others, perhaps more numerous, to be considered. I mean the maladies with which men are born; the maladies which had a beginning, it may be, in the sins, or follies, or ignorance of generations long gone, and which have passed from father to son as a lasting heritage of the race. Since *we* suffer from these, and yet are wholly innocent of their cause, and have no more power to heal them than we have to save ourselves from them, it is reasonable, I am sure, to pray that they be taken from us."

"This," said the President, "is one of many dark questions that are obviously awaiting us further on in our debate, if we follow the scheme of discussion that has been adopted. The mystery of our evil inheritances, in body and spirit alike, can be looked at in a clearer light, no doubt, when we turn to the moral side of the grave problems we have undertaken to study. I propose, therefore, that we put aside and pass by for the moment this whole question relative to the bodily ills of the human race, and return to it later, when the larger questions that it touches shall have been cleared in our minds."

This proposal was approved, and the council, after some interval of rest, gave attention to the question which came next in the scheme of debate; namely,

"Does reason justify us in praying to the Divine Father for simpler wants and better ways of life among men, to the end that poverty, with all its suffering, may disappear from the world?"

"But this," said one who arose quickly, "takes us back to ground which we have just learned we must leave behind us for a time. For man, not God, is the maker of human poverty. None are in want by the will of the Creator. The abundance He has given us surpasses the needs of all. The fruitfulness of our earth has no bounds yet shown. It

needs is no more and yet more without stint according to the labor and the knowledge with which we make claims on it. The bounty is priced as it may in toil, and the toil which pays that price is secure and no more, is a blessing and a joy to them who give it."

"Yes," said a second speaker, "and along with the *enriching riches* of the earth God gives us the facilities to *command* and the powers to *command* them. They increase with the growth of our needs as we rise to higher conditions of life. We are masters or may be, of more than all mankind can rationally use and enjoy. By God's appointment there is no place for poverty in the midst of this plenty, but it is man who has contrived as much as lies in his power, to keep it from the many, for the suffering of the few. It is man who has filled his world with the miseries of want."

"Two parties of mankind have divided between them the *exorable work*. The members of one have wrought through generations of vice, idleness, scorn of knowledge and contempt for good, to destroy every useful faculty in themselves. These can do no profitable part of the work of the world, and their portion of the harvests which they neither *now nor reap* is a dole to them from the pity of their fellows. The other party is composed of those who bring cunning and greed into their work; who are busier and more skillful in the garnering than in the tillage; who contrive to be bailiffs and factors among their simpler-minded neighbors, and who gather to themselves the common product according to their opportunities. The monstrous wealth which such men heap up lessens the portions of all others, and keeps great numbers so near to want that even slight misfortune brings misery."

"True," added a third speaker, "and even the suffering from poverty which innocent misfortune and calamities of nature may produce is commonly a fruit of wrong-doing among men. When its cause does not lie in the improvi-

dence of the sufferers, it is most often discoverable in greed. If there remains some small residue of want, among the feeble and the helpless, for which men should have no blame, is there too much of it, do you think, for a wholesome and needed exercise of the kindly sympathies of mankind? Would we wish to have the offices of benevolence taken away from us altogether?"

The President now interposed to remark: "Enough, I judge, has been said on this point for the present. It cannot be doubted that in asking for the removal of want from the world we should be asking for a moral change in men; and that is the subject which we have placed last on our program for discussion, so that all the problems which seem to meet in it may be considered together. We must now proceed to that."

This final question was phrased thus: "*Is it fitting that we appeal for Divine Grace to purify the hearts of men; to extinguish the movings of evil thought and desire in everyone; to open their understandings to the light which will make them always wise unto righteousness, and so to cleanse the world of folly and misery and wrong and sin?*"

Two men stood forth at once, and there was debate between them for a time. Questions were asked by the one who spoke first.

"What we now think of asking," said this speaker, "is for a human nature that cannot be otherwise than righteous in conduct and pure in desire. But what is there in right conduct that makes it righteous, or in purity of feeling that makes it pure? Assuredly it is the conscious wish and purpose to be righteous and to be pure. Take that away and you have taken the living principle of rightness and purity out of all human action and feeling. Are we ready, you and I, to be bent to what is good by omnipotence—predestined to it in every act of our lives, with no will or willingness or striving toward it in ourselves; no gladness from it; no

merit in it, more than belongs to the good instincts of birds when they feed their young? There is a rectitude like this in the faithful water-wheel, which turns as the stream pushes it, and in no other way. That is rectitude for a machine; it is not righteousness for a moral being. To shape human nature thus would end wickedness in the world, no doubt, and it would end goodness too. It would fill the stage of human life with puppets, sinless and soulless, to act on our earth a poor travesty of the purity and peace of Heaven."

"No," cried the opponent, who stood waiting for an opportunity to speak. "Our brother is mistaken. It is no travesty or mimicry, but the reality of Heaven itself that we would bring to the world if this prayer should prevail. That which we would ask for mankind is what God must have given to His angels. We suppose them to be, not sinless only, but incapable of sin. If our Lord is gracious to us, what shall hinder the regenerating of mankind to that perfection of being? Will any of us fear to be lowered by a nature which the angels bear?"

"We know nothing of the angels," was the reply. "As we picture them in imagination—inhabitants of Heaven and companions of Deity—they are at a height of being which our understanding cannot reach. It is conceivable to us that in that supernal state the harmony of will with wisdom may become so absolute that freedom and necessity are reconciled and fused in it, and are one constraining fact. If, happily, we dare to hope for a lifting, some time, of the soul of man to that height, it cannot be in this body of flesh. The impossibility is plain. If, therefore, we mean to plead for men that they shall be endowed with the nature of angels, we must pray for their disembodiment and translation to the world of spirit; for not otherwise can we give a ground of reason to the plea.

"Even that, however, would be rash and questionable. For how do we know that any being less than divine can

afford to lose the knowledge of evil or to escape the warfare with it which this life affords? How do we know that Omnipotence even, can temper a nature lower than its own to perfect righteousness by any gentler process? How do we know that the final wisdom in which evil is extinguished can be attained in any other way than through teaching and discipline which have their beginning in this hard school of sorrow and sin?"

The objector was not silenced. "Even yet," was his rejoinder, "I am not persuaded that the reasoning of our brother is wholly true. He grounds it on belief in the present moral freedom of man; but where is certitude of that to be found? A man who seems to pick his way as he will, at every step in life, is really being pushed at every step, this way or that, by conflicting influences of reason, passion, habit, heredity and numberless other constraints, and it is the stronger among them which prevail and give their bent to his course. Every act of the man may be accounted for by the composition of these forces. I see no function left for that imagined sovereign of the mind which we call Will.

"It does not suffice for me to be told that a man is master of his own passions, director of his own faculties, shaper of his own habits; for I find this to be but partly true. I find him born with so much mastery already lost or won for him, that his fate is mostly fixed before his own agency in it begins. Oh, tell me, my brother, where you find reason sufficient for your belief in the moral free agency of man?"

"The proof of my free will is, to me, like the proof of my existence, which I find where Descartes found it," was the answer. "'I think, therefore I am.' In other words, thought involves a consciousness of self and of something which is not self, and can leave the thinker in no possible doubt of his own existence. I carry this a step further, and find that I think morally, being conscious of myself in

various states of consciousness which contain the sense of responsibility, right, wrong, guilt, innocence, obligation, duty, and the like. Therefore, I am a consciously responsible self, which I could not be without free agency — the power of self-control. This evidence, which I draw only from myself for myself, is convincing to me.

“But I am led to the same conclusion, and with even a stronger conviction, by what I may call the logic of the universe. The evils of the world become explainable if we assume that humanity carries its destinies in its own keeping, and is working out its own development, *with freedom*. Without that assumption the enigma of human existence seems insolent in its mockery of our understanding, and drives us to atheistic despair. I should fear, for my own part, to refuse the belief which has that for its alternative.”

A third disputant now entered the discussion, saying: “The surest knowledge that mankind has acquired is in what we call Science, and nothing in Science is surer than its ascertainment of the rigid reign of law in the universe; the inflexibility of an established order in it; the unbreakable procession from cause to effect throughout its unceasing successions of change. How could there be that dominance of law and fixity of order if men were made free to disturb the order by exemption from the law?”

A quick answer came from the champion of free agency. “Science has taught us much,” he said, “concerning the law that is inherent in the physical constitution of the universe, but little or nothing of the law that rules in the realm of mind. We have no warrant for supposing that the same law has force in both. It seems impossible, indeed, that any parallelism can exist between mental and chemical or mechanical processes; between concepts and molecules; between the association of ideas and the combination of material atoms; between exercise of reason and judgment and the performances of a calculating machine. Mind

seems to me the nerve matter of the brain as we use the diaphragms and wires and electric batteries of our telephonic systems. In both cases the use of the physical instruments employed is conditioned and limited by the physical laws to which the instruments are subject; but within those limiting conditions there is presumably a freedom, on the part of the employing agent, as entire in the one case as in the other."

"But give attention for a moment," interposed another, "to that thinking—that process of deliberation out of which the volition comes! The mind gives a hearing, perhaps, to many conflicting persuasions, some for one course of action, some for another; some from ethical, some from practical considerations; some from selfish and some from generous impulses; and there may be affecting the mind varied bodily influences, such as those of age, health, fatigue, and the like, which are not argumentative at all, but which have a powerful effect on the decision to be given. All these factors of influence, as one who writes on the subject has said, 'owe their particular existence at any given moment simply and wholly to the natural course and sequence of events.' Now, what is to be seen in the working of these influences which determine the man's action—what, I say, is to be seen but an inexorable driving of necessity, from the beginning of time?"

"Yes," was the reply, "that, undoubtedly, is what you must see when you speak of 'the influences which *determine* the man's action.' I will not dispute your statement that the factors of influence which come into the question 'owe their particular existence at any given moment to the natural course and sequence of events.' If I could go further with you and suppose that these influences were self-acting, and could by some mystery of agreement, determine one's action, then I should believe with you that the decision is a product of necessity, as the influences behind it are. But that is to me an impossible supposition.

"If a suggestion of reason, or a plea of conscience, or a temptation of appetite, or the pressure of habit, could be thought of as being made up of atom-like elements, each charged with some measurable and invariable quantity of influential psychic force, then we might be able to conceive the possibility of some automatic reckoning of the persuasive powers they bring severally to bear on the volitional apparatus of our minds when we are conscious of their conflict, and the consequent possibility of automatic determinations of conduct, in which mind, as mind, would have no agency whatsoever—free or not free. Make the attempt, my friends, to frame such a conception, and see if you do not reject it! See if you are not driven to conclude that the hearings we have consciousness of giving in such instances to contending persuasions must be in their nature judicial; that there must be a tribunal of some nature in the mind which gives such hearings, and adjudicates the pleadings submitted to it; that this tribunal, however constituted, is what we call will, and that there is freedom in its decrees. The pleas before it may come from sources of necessity, but the freedom we feel in the judgment between them is a logical fact."

"Nevertheless," said a new adversary, "the question remains—How can the purposes and plans of God, so far as they relate to this earth and to man himself, be fulfilled, if man can derange them by free action? If his action can never be contrary to them, then he is not free."

"It would not be difficult to believe," responded another, "that the powers God has given to His human creatures are so limited and the human nature so constituted that they cannot greatly disturb, much less thwart, the Divine purpose. Moreover, I, for one, feel rationally assured that a free action of the human intelligence and will, under the influences to which humanity is subjected, is among the agencies that serve the purposes of God, and for which, in His plans, allowance is made. In this view, Man is invested

with a moral responsibility, which I cannot regard as possible otherwise; Creation can be thought of as having a moral object, and the Creator as having an eternal interest and pleasure in His work.

"In my conception of the Creator, His omniscience has been exercised in a perfect foreplanning of the ends of His creative work, and His omnipotence in the animating of forces and processes that will patiently and perfectly work out His design. Formerly men seemed to be required to believe that the creation of the universe was an immediate act, completed in its beginning. 'God spake and it was done,' as the Psalmist stated it. But now we are accepting from the revelations of science a different belief, which permits us to think of the Creator as having an eternal interest in the evolution of His systems of worlds and of life upon them. We can reasonably think, for example, of the evolution of successive states of society on the earth, successive civilizations, successive races and nations, as all being the result of the working of the forces which execute the Divine design, without thinking that all the details of what became human history were already from the beginning and perpetually present in the Divine Mind, like a composed drama, with actors pre-appointed and stage directions set forth.

"Without the conception of some such large flexibility in the evolution of Man and his environment, it must seem to us that God's interest and pleasure in His creation ceased with the planning of it, and that the infinity of His being would involve an eternity of *ennui*."

For a short interval there was silence, and then the President spoke, saying: "It is easy for me to believe that the Divine purposes in creation can be accomplished without denying to men such a measure of free agency as would make them responsible, moral beings, and not mere marionettes. If this belief prevails among us, we cannot approve the prayer proposed to us, asking for an exercise of Divine

yields to us more and yet more, without stint, according to the labor and the knowledge with which we make claims on it. Its bounty is priced to us only in toil, and the toil which pays that price to nature, and no more, is a blessing and a joy to them who give it."

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"Yes," was the reply, "that, undoubtedly, is what you must see when you speak of 'the influences which *determine* the man's action.' I will not dispute your statement that the factors of influence which come into the question 'owe their particular existence at any given moment to the natural course and sequence of events.' If I could go further with you and suppose that these influences were self-acting, and could by some mystery of agreement, determine one's action, then I should believe with you that the decision is a product of necessity, as the influences behind it are. But that is to me an impossible supposition.

"If a suggestion of reason, or a plea of conscience, or a temptation of appetite, or the pressure of habit, could be thought of as being made up of atom-like elements, each charged with some measurable and invariable quantity of influential psychic force, then we might be able to conceive the possibility of some automatic reckoning of the persuasive powers they bring severally to bear on the volitional apparatus of our minds when we are conscious of their conflict, and the consequent possibility of automatic determinations of conduct, in which mind, as mind, would have no agency whatsoever—free or not free. Make the attempt, my friends, to frame such a conception, and see if you do not reject it! See if you are not driven to conclude that the hearings we have consciousness of giving in such instances to contending persuasions must be in their nature judicial; that there must be a tribunal of some nature in the mind which gives such hearings, and adjudicates the pleadings submitted to it; that this tribunal, however constituted, is what we call will, and that there is freedom in its decrees. The pleas before it may come from sources of necessity, but the freedom we feel in the judgment between them is a logical fact."

"Nevertheless," said a new adversary, "the question remains—How can the purposes and plans of God, so far as they relate to this earth and to man himself, be fulfilled, if man can derange them by free action? If his action can never be contrary to them, then he is not free."

"It would not be difficult to believe," responded another, "that the powers God has given to His human creatures are so limited and the human nature so constituted that they cannot greatly disturb, much less thwart, the Divine purpose. Moreover, I, for one, feel rationally assured that a free action of the human intelligence and will, under the influences to which humanity is subjected, is among the agencies that serve the purposes of God, and for which, in His plans, allowance is made. In this view, Man is invested

with a moral responsibility, which I cannot regard as possible otherwise; Creation can be thought of as having a moral object, and the Creator as having an eternal interest and pleasure in His work.

"In my conception of the Creator, His omniscience has been exercised in a perfect foreplanning of the ends of His creative work, and His omnipotence in the animating of forces and processes that will patiently and perfectly work out His design. Formerly men seemed to be required to believe that the creation of the universe was an immediate act, completed in its beginning. 'God spake and it was done,' as the Psalmist stated it. But now we are accepting from the revelations of science a different belief, which permits us to think of the Creator as having an eternal interest in the evolution of His systems of worlds and of life upon them. We can reasonably think, for example, of the evolution of successive states of society on the earth, successive civilizations, successive races and nations, as all being the result of the working of the forces which execute the Divine design, without thinking that all the details of what became human history were already from the beginning and perpetually present in the Divine Mind, like a composed drama, with actors pre-appointed and stage directions set forth.

"Without the conception of some such large flexibility in the evolution of Man and his environment, it must seem to us that God's interest and pleasure in His creation ceased with the planning of it, and that the infinity of His being would involve an eternity of *ennui*."

For a short interval there was silence, and then the President spoke, saying: "It is easy for me to believe that the Divine purposes in creation can be accomplished without denying to men such a measure of free agency as would make them responsible, moral beings, and not mere marionettes. If this belief prevails among us, we cannot approve the prayer proposed to us, asking for an exercise of Divine

omnipotence to cleanse the world of sin and folly and wrong. It would be a doubtful supplication, even if we look to nothing but our preparation for another world. For I fear that we cannot afford to have one difficulty of right-doing diminished, one consequence of ill-doing shortened or taken away, one lust extinguished in us, one shadow of ignorance illuminated, except by ourselves and for one another."

On this one arose who had been silent hitherto. "I could be persuaded," he said, "to think and feel as you do, my brothers, if our warfare was only with the evil powers that rise against us in our own generation. But when men are struck down, as I see them daily, by some bolt out of the far past, I cannot feel in my heart that they have fallen in fair fight. I find myself more willing to suspect that a dreadful inequity in the operation of natural law has, in some startling way, escaped the notice of the great Ruler, than to believe that it bears His sanction and follows from His command. Therefore, I came to this council under pledge to appeal for the deliverance of mankind from penalties for which the past is responsible."

"Do you not forget," was asked in reply, "that gains of good as well as gatherings of ill are borne down from generation to generation on the same carrier-stream of heredity? Not taints and infirmities alone are transmitted from father to son, but every fresh invigoration of sanity in body or mind that one wins by a temperate, prudent and virtuous life, is won also for one's children and children's children. Every conquest one makes of an evil passion or appetite is a conquest that carries help through all coming time to one's descendants.

"We depend on this persisting heredity—so terrible in one of its aspects, but so benign and so full of great promise in the other—for human advancement. Shall we venture to ask that the stream of transmission be stayed? Shall we dare to renounce for our posterity its whole inheritance from

the past, both good and ill? Or shall we pray to have that which is evil sifted out and extinguished, and that which is good made enduring? But this could have no lasting effect, unless freedom of conduct should be taken from man; for just as he now neglects due exertion to restore purity to tainted streams of heredity, so might he then neglect the preservation of a purity which miracle had brought about."

To this another added: "Do not think that our deliverance from these evils of inheritance may be got by crying to God for miracles that would wreck His universe! Rather let us look at them with the awe they command—these consequences, evil and good, which are the manifested truth and honesty of the constitution of the world; inflexible as the righteousness of God! Let us look at them with that light in our minds, and so set ourselves more earnestly to the ranging of our lives and the lives of our fellow-men, in harmony with the order to which they point. We are the keepers of our brethren, no less than of ourselves. All ignorance among them is our shame; all vices among them are our reproach; their sins are our shortcomings—until we have wrought to the last of our strength for the teaching and uplifting of everyone."

A moment of impressive silence followed these grave words. Then the President arose and said: "The long day of our debate is waning. We have wasted none of it, I think, in useless words. We have looked straightly into the questions that were put before us, and have seen them in many lights. Possibly we are now prepared to decide this final one, just discussed, which asks: 'Is it fitting that we appeal for Divine grace to purify the hearts of men; to extinguish the movings of evil thought and desire in everyone; to open their understandings to the light which will make them always wise unto righteousness, and so to cleanse the world of folly and misery and wrong and sin?' Those who would have this assembly address

such a prayer to our Heavenly Father are asked to rise in their places."

A few arose; but so few from the great multitude that the general disapproval of the proposition was left in no doubt; and none questioned the conclusiveness of the decision as to all matters that had been discussed.

"What, then," said the President, "shall be our response to the gracious invitation, from Heaven, as we believe, which has brought us together? Manifestly we are most of us in agreement as to what the response must be. In conclusion, I will ask you to consider these words which I have written:

"We humbly acknowledge, O God, that there would not be disease in this world, or pain that is not beneficent, or untimely death, or sorrow, or any want that creates distress, or any wrong-doing or evil of any nature, if the reason and the moral consciousness and the faculties and forces which Thou hast given to Thy children of the earth had been used rightly and faithfully in all things by all. We discern, moreover, that Man could not become worthy of the spiritual nature Thou hast given him without the freedom which makes him responsible for his actions. Wherefore our minds make no appeal against any apparent imperfection in the ordering of the world, or for heavenly help in the struggles of human life save that of the strengthening spirit which has always come to those who strive faithfully to the utmost of their powers for the best."

This statement was accepted and adopted by the silent uprising of almost the whole assembly, and then the President, in a few words, declared its session ended.

IN MEMORIAM

AN INSCRIPTION WRITTEN FOR AND PUBLISHED IN THE BUFFALO
EXPRESS, APRIL 17, 1865

BY J. N. LARNED

TO THE MEMORY OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WHO DIED A MARTYR TO HIS COUNTRY,
FALLING BY THE HAND OF A TRAITOROUS ASSASSIN,
ON THE NIGHT OF THE 14TH DAY OF APRIL, 1865,
WHICH WAS THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING
OF THE GREAT WAR OF THE REBELLION,
THROUGH WHICH HE HAD LED THE NATION TO A
GLORIOUS TRIUMPH,
JUST COMPLETED WHEN THE DASTARDLY
REVENGE OF
VANQUISHED TREASON WAS WROUGHT IN HIS
MONSTROUS MURDER.

The great Republic loved him as its father, and revered him as the preserver of its national life. The oppressed peoples of all lands looked up to him as the anointed of liberty, and hailed in him the consecrated leader of her cause. He struck the chains of slavery from four millions of a despised race, and lifted them to erectness among their fellow-men.

By his wisdom, his prudence, his calm temper, his steadfast patience, his lofty courage and his loftier faith, he saved the Republic from dissolution; by his simple integrity he illustrated the neglected principles of its constitution, and restored them to their just ascendancy; by all the results of his administration of its government, he inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind.

The wisdom of his statesmanship was excelled only by its virtuousness. Exercising a power which surpassed that of kings, he bore himself always as the servant of the people, and never as their master.

Too sincere in the simplicity of his nature to be affected by an elevation to the proudest among human dignities, he stands in the ranks of the illustrious of all time as the purest exemplar of Democracy. While goodness is beloved, and great deeds are remembered, the world will never cease to revere his name and memory.

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HENRY A. RICHMOND

A TRIBUTE

BY HENRY R. HOWLAND



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READ AT A MEETING OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
TUESDAY EVENING, MARCH 30, 1915

BY HENRY R. HOWLAND

On the morning of the 10th of May, 1913, in the California Hospital at Los Angeles, California, there came the end of earthly life to one of Buffalo's best known citizens, who for 53 years had lived with its life and grown with its growth; who was peculiarly identified with all that the span of more than half a century had done for the higher civic development of the city that he loved.

For 23 of those years he was a member of the Buffalo Historical Society and for 18 years one of its board of managers. That alone would seem a fitting reason for such a memorial record as this; a more cogent reason still is the fact that the story of his life is the story of an active, generous, heart-whole participation in almost every public-spirited effort that has made the Buffalo of today in so many ways a greater, better city than was the Buffalo to which he came as a young man in 1860.

Henry Augustus Richmond was born August 3, 1840, at Salina, Onondaga County, N. Y., now a part of the city of

Syracuse, and was the second son of Dean Richmond, the well-known financier and leader in industrial and political affairs in the state and the nation, who at his death was the second president of the New York Central Railroad. When Henry was a child four years old, his parents moved to Attica, N. Y., and later to Batavia, where his boyhood was spent. His education was received at the public and private schools there and at Geneva, his delicate health preventing him from enjoying the opportunities of a college career which he much desired, the loss of which he never ceased to regret, though in later years many college-taught men might have envied him for his rich stores of knowledge and the clear grasp of his mind trained by constant reading and study, aided by a remarkably tenacious memory.

When 20 years old, in the winter of 1860-61, he came to Buffalo and with his cousin, Jewett M. Richmond, who had then retired from the various firms in Syracuse, Salina, Chicago and Buffalo, which had been engaged in salt producing, formed a partnership under the name of J. M. Richmond & Co., carrying on the grain commission, forwarding, storage and elevating business which continued for over 20 years, after which he embarked in the lithographing business in the firm of Clay & Richmond and later, the Richmond Lithographing Company, in which he continued until 1888. When in 1866 or 1867 the project of building the Buffalo, New York & Philadelphia Railroad was started, he was one of its supporters, and held the office of vice-president of that company until 1873.

The Buffalo of 1861 to which Henry Richmond came in his twenty-first year, was a thriving little city of 81,000 souls, its population having doubled in the decade since 1850. It had weathered the great financial panic of 1857, railroads were extending their lines, canal improvements were being made and though the years of the great Civil War brought sorrow and distress, they forced the grain of

the Northwest into Buffalo through the Great Lakes, which had formerly been going into the South by way of the Mississippi, and thus added greatly to the making of the city.

Those were the days of the Central Wharf, when most of Buffalo's leading merchants were "on the dock," and for many years the grain-storing and forwarding business was the principal industry of the town; yet it was not until 1863 that the first telegraph wires were connected with the Board of Trade on Central Wharf. The first street-car line in Buffalo was opened in June, 1860, and ran from the dock up Main street as far as Edward street and a month later as far as Cold Spring; and it was not until 1864 that a second line was opened on Genesee street. The streets were paved with Medina sandstone, and it was not until 1878 that the first asphalt pavement in Buffalo was laid on Delaware avenue from Virginia to North street. The most fashionable residences were on Swan street. There were no clubs or club houses, and in their absence Bloomer's restaurant on the lower side of Eagle street, between Main and Pearl, was the evening rendezvous for the fathers of those who in these days gather at the Buffalo, the Saturn, the University or the Ellicott Clubs in their delightful surroundings.

Once, when in a reminiscent mood, Henry Richmond said: "My father once told me to stand by two things so long as I lived—the public schools and the free libraries. I have been actively engaged in the work of both of these since that time and expect to continue so until the end."

In the year of his coming to Buffalo his first affiliations were with two institutions which have been potent factors in Buffalo's educational development. The Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences was then in its infancy, and Henry Richmond at once became an interested member and for more than 40 years served it faithfully as one of its board of managers, living to see its sphere of influence enlarged

until it had become in its work for the people and the schools one of the great educational factors of our city.

It was in this first year of his residence here that he joined the Young Men's Association, that virile organization to which we all belonged, which first began its work as a Library Association in 1836 and continued it with zeal until by its contract with the city in 1897 it became the splendid Public Library of today.

It was a fine thing for our Buffalo that its leading young men interested themselves as they did in those old days, when our annual election for officers and curators was a matter of as great public interest as any Presidential election could have been; when the good-natured electioneering brought everybody to the polls, and the successful candidates with becoming pride, accepted office as a trust and wrought valiantly to surpass all efforts of their predecessors.

Henry Richmond served often on its board of management, was its vice-president in 1864, and in 1869 was its president, signalizing his term of office by raising a special fund for the purchase of books, increasing the library from 16,000 to 25,000 volumes. He too was most active in that splendid effort by which a building fund of \$117,000 was raised in 1882, by means of which the old Court House property was bought and the present Library building erected and formally opened in 1887.

The splendid work of the Buffalo Historical Society deeply interested Henry Richmond from the time when he first became one of its members in 1890. Five years later he was elected as one of its board of managers, an office in which he continued until his death, always attending its board meetings and earnestly sustaining all of its high endeavors, rejoicing greatly when at the close of the Pan-American Exposition the Society came into its heritage in the possession of the beautiful building which it so proudly occupies. He was an earnest and discriminating lover of art; his own

home was filled with well-chosen paintings by famous artists and with objects of beauty gathered by him in his travels, and for some 30 years he was a member of the Fine Arts Academy of Buffalo and often one of its board of managers.

He loved the fellowship of his fellowmen and was a club man in the best sense of the term. When the Buffalo Club was organized in 1867 he became one of its charter members; in his bachelor life it became almost a second home to him, where he might drop in at any time and meet the men of affairs in whose conversation and companionship he found a healthful pleasure and profit.

Later, too, when the old City Club in 1877 opened its doors on Washington street, he became one of its members, as was also the case when the Saturn Club began its career in 1885, and many were the happy evenings when, around its cheerful winter fire, a score of us would gather and listen to our friend as he told of past experiences, or, in stormy civic days, in his earnest manner, laid down the law to us as he saw it in matters relating to our growing city's needs and possibilities. He had a keen sense of humor which always made him an agreeable companion, and in his fondness for disputation, loving as he did a hard hitter and always ready to give as good as he received, he never forgot that the other man in an argument was entitled to his own views and to just as strong an expression of them, and was deserving of the kindly respect that he always gave to honest conviction.

In politics he was, or thought that he was, an old-line Jeffersonian Democrat, as his father had been before him, and he always cherished and often quoted the precepts he had learned from that man of large affairs and commanding influence; but of politics as the game is played he knew as little as he cared.

Always independent in thought and action, he was absolutely free from political ambition; he had no friends to

put in office, nothing to ask for himself, and the only public office which he ever held came to him unsought and was accepted because he believed that a public office was a public trust and that it was his duty to uphold that great principle by his own earnest endeavors.

He greatly disliked notoriety, and though prolific in suggestions he never desired to see his name in print. He had clear convictions and he expressed them firmly though never aggressively; as the *Buffalo Express* said of him after his death: "His ideas were not always practical; you might not feel that you were wrong if Henry Richmond was against you, but it confirmed your impression that you were right if you found Henry Richmond fighting on the same side; for you knew that he was utterly disinterested and perfectly high-minded."

He was at all times sturdily independent, believing in local affairs that the best man should be elected regardless of party affiliations and carrying his independence into the larger issues of the state and the nation. One example of this out of many at the time when he succeeded his father as a member of the Democratic State Committee, was his opposition to Tammany and his hatred of Boss Tweed, and when he spoke from conviction he was boldly outspoken—"If this be Democracy," said he, "I am no Democrat; I would rather see the party defeated by 200,000 than to win on such an issue."

Henry Richmond was one of the first to seek to overthrow the old Marcy-Jacksonian doctrine in politics that "to the victor belong the spoils," for when in 1881 the National Civil Service Reform League was organized with George William Curtis at its head, he at once enrolled himself in that important cause and with 14 others organized the Civil Service Reform Association of Buffalo, an association which at once took part in the active campaign for a national Civil Service law which was enacted in January, 1883.

At the same time, through its endeavors, a petition for a State Civil Service law was signed by 1,500 of Buffalo's leading citizens and sent to Albany. The law was passed and signed in May, 1883, creating the New York State Civil Service Commission, and on the 4th of that month Governor Cleveland appointed Henry A. Richmond, John Jay and Augustus Schoonmacher as the first Civil Service Commissioners of our state. So earnest and energetic was our friend in fulfilling the duties of his trust, that George William Curtis said of him: "I think there be six Richmonds in the field," and again, "God and good angels fight on Richmond's side." The newly appointed Commissioner deeply appreciated his strong upholding here at home—an upholding so forceful, that Curtis said of it: "There is no force in the country more united, enthusiastic and effective than the Buffalo Contingent."

The Commissioners labored faithfully in their new constructive work, formulating rules and prescribing methods; and theirs is a most honorable record. Effect was given to the Civil Service Act in Buffalo in 1884 when Jonathan Scoville, then Mayor of the city, prescribed rules for its practical operation here.

Many were the curious difficulties that these pioneer champions had to encounter, and Mr. Richmond always loved to tell of a letter that he received from a fellow Democrat, complaining that his examination had been a fraud to keep a good man out of office for party reasons. As he himself had conducted the examination assisted by a leading Democratic editor and a third examiner of the highest standing in the community, Mr. Richmond replied that if the complainant would give permission to have his papers photographed, showing spelling, arithmetic, hand-writing, etc., and printed in the Buffalo papers together with the rating the markers had given them, accompanied with the insulting letter of complaint, he would cheerfully send him \$25. The offer was not accepted.

of that reform and toward party politics cannot be better expressed than in his own words at the close of an address upon Civil Service delivered by him at Association Hall, March 19, 1889, when he said:

I believe there are people now living in the City of Buffalo who will live to see it, when the spoils system will be looked upon as we now look back upon the Feudal System of the Middle Ages. But to bring about this result, we must all remember that while it is right and proper, nay, while it is our duty, to support that party whose theories and practice of government commend themselves to us—while it is right and proper for us to support the public men who represent those principles—if when questions arise which concern those fundamental principles on which all good government rests, principles far exceeding in importance the theories of government which are the dividing line between the two parties—when these principles are at stake, let us remember that the party was made for the country, not the country for the party.

Henry Richmond's father, as we have seen, told him to stand by two things so long as he lived—the public schools and the free libraries; and he took the bidding to heart. Throughout his life, one of the things that engaged his active attention and his devoted interest was the public school system of Buffalo.

He was an earnest advocate of the best interests of education in our city, and it was through his endeavors that in the spring of 1896 The Buffalo School Association was organized. This was made up of delegates from many educational, literary and business organizations; some thirty of these in all, including among others the Bar Association, the Labor Unions, the Council of Good Government Clubs, the Principals' Association, the Women's Investigating Club, the Working Men's Educational and Economic Club, and the Citizens' Association which had been formed a year or two before and which now joined in this as providing a

better basis for the realization of much-needed results. It was a strong gathering of the intellectual, public-spirited and non-partisan forces of Buffalo—an evidence on the part of its members, who had nothing to get out of it for themselves, of a high-minded devotion to the educational interests of the city, seeking through discussion of school conditions and school administration, to obtain an intimate acquaintance with the work done and the methods by which better results might be accomplished.

In its endeavors the Association sought and received the cordial co-operation of the School Superintendent and of the Bureau of Building. At its first meeting Mr. Richmond was made its president, an office which he filled with great efficiency for several years and so long as the Association continued in existence. Various committees were appointed for special purposes of enlightenment, but the most important work of the Association was that done by its committee of examiners, 92 in all, to which was entrusted the careful investigation of the sanitary condition of every school in the city, the investigation in each case to be made by two persons, and by a carefully prepared scheme of scientific value, adapting for the purpose the main features of a blank form of examination which had originated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston.

There were then some 60 grade schools in Buffalo, and to relieve their congestion many annexes had been pressed into service; too often forlorn rented buildings, unsanitary and unsafe, as was clearly shown when the committee which had labored diligently, offered its first report. As the condition of one of these fire traps was recited, Mr. Richmond, who was presiding, guilelessly asked the principal of the school, who was present, how he would get the children out in case of fire.

"Oh," he said, "I should have to throw them out of the window."

Every newspaper in Buffalo quoted this the next day, as Mr. Richmond had intended when he asked the question; and by such means as this public opinion was aroused. Mr. Richmond was an admirable president of the Association, full of resource and unflagging in interest and in public-spirited endeavor. He shared in the visitations and examinations himself and was never discouraged by opposition.

For a time there was much up-hill work, but the best elements in the city and in the school work itself were in hearty accord with the Association's efforts; and as from year to year the detailed reports of its investigations opened the eyes of the people to defects that were crying, results began to follow and the much-needed betterments were made to the lasting honor of our city. The value of that work in which Henry Richmond led and which was accomplished by him and his associates, has grown clearer and clearer as time has gone on, and the City of Buffalo owes to his memory a debt of deepest gratitude.

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He loved the city of his home, and said of it on the day that marked his three-score years and ten: "Buffalo is growing more and more beautiful. I may be mistaken,

but it seems more and more beautiful to me and I am a firm believer in it. I am thankful that my lot has been cast here, that I have spent so many happy years here and when my time comes I trust that I shall be permitted to pass away here," a wish, alas! that was not to be fulfilled.

His life had many resources. He loved his fellowmen and their companionship and next to that he loved the companionship of his books. His well-filled and valuable library testified to the extent of his reading and study. His books were his familiar friends and by his own cheerful fire, with some well-used volume for an evening's solace, he was never lonely. He was especially fond of history, and his remarkable memory stored his mind with rich resources which were always at his command, to the delight of those who at times, in happy converse with him, were permitted to see the readiness with which he could rehabilitate the past. He was an intelligent and discriminating student and lover of art and these things especially fitted him for the pleasures of travel, which he greatly enjoyed, to the enrichment of his life. In his younger days he had made the European tour in the happy companionship of his warm friend David Gray, and when in his later years the shadows of business troubles had passed away and he had honorably freed himself from burdens that had been heavy, he journeyed far, visiting Egypt and Greece and Palestine and later still, making the world-round journey that took him through the Orient, always an eager and intelligent observer of its peoples, their social conditions and their natural environments, ever returning with new stores for thought and memory to the greater enjoyment and appreciation of his home and friends.

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His was a reverent and at heart a deeply religious nature, though he wore it not upon his sleeve. At the time of his 70th birthday, when loving congratulations were poured upon him, he said to a friend whom he esteemed, that though in an hour he knew not, nor how soon the end might come, he was able sincerely to trust in God and His mercy.

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For four years these first Commissioners wrought earnestly and well, but Governor Cleveland passed to the Presidency and his successor, David B. Hill, had such itching fingers for patronage that on the 28th of June, 1887, he wrote to Mr. Richmond and similarly to Mr. Jay, requesting their resignations. Henry Richmond's reply, published at the time, was worthy of the man himself and of his dignified appreciation of his duty; calling attention to the fact that the law under which the Commission was organized was in itself an emphatic assertion of the doctrine that all powers of removal and appointment are public trusts, not to be exercised arbitrarily or without good and sufficient cause, and that no cause of removal would be good or sufficient which did not in some manner relate to the efficiency of the public service. If the removal from a place of great responsibility should only be made for cause, it follows that the cause should be made public, not simply as an act of justice to the officer removed, but to the people whose servants all officers are. "The people," he said, "are certainly entitled to know the reason of serious changes in the personnel of the administration, in order to be sure that it is public and not private interest which prompted them"; and he added that until such reasons were communicated to himself and to the public, he must respectfully decline to take any part whatever in making his place vacant. "The responsibility must rest wholly with you; the appointment came to me unsolicited; I value it as it deserves, but I have no personal reason for wishing to retain it."

The Governor's only reply was an executive order dated December 28, 1887, removing Mr. Richmond and Mr. Jay from their public service. So ended Henry Richmond's career as a public official, the only public office he ever held; but his influence and his earnest endeavors for Civil Service Reform, which was always close to his heart, continued so long as he lived, and perhaps his attitude toward the scope

of that reform and toward party politics cannot be better expressed than in his own words at the close of an address upon Civil Service delivered by him at Association Hall, March 19, 1889, when he said:

I believe there are people now living in the City of Buffalo who will live to see it, when the spoils system will be looked upon as we now look back upon the Feudal System of the Middle Ages. But to bring about this result, we must all remember that while it is right and proper, nay, while it is our duty, to support that party whose theories and practice of government commend themselves to us—while it is right and proper for us to support the public men who represent those principles—if when questions arise which concern those fundamental principles on which all good government rests, principles far exceeding in importance the theories of government which are the dividing line between the two parties—when these principles are at stake, let us remember that the party was made for the country, not the country for the party.

Henry Richmond's father, as we have seen, told him to stand by two things so long as he lived—the public schools and the free libraries; and he took the bidding to heart. Throughout his life, one of the things that engaged his active attention and his devoted interest was the public school system of Buffalo.

He was an earnest advocate of the best interests of education in our city, and it was through his endeavors that in the spring of 1896 The Buffalo School Association was organized. This was made up of delegates from many educational, literary and business organizations; some thirty of these in all, including among others the Bar Association, the Labor Unions, the Council of Good Government Clubs, the Principals' Association, the Women's Investigating Club, the Working Men's Educational and Economic Club, and the Citizens' Association which had been formed a year or two before and which now joined in this as providing a

better basis for the realization of much-needed results. It was a strong gathering of the intellectual, public-spirited and non-partisan forces of Buffalo—an evidence on the part of its members, who had nothing to get out of it for themselves, of a high-minded devotion to the educational interests of the city, seeking through discussion of school conditions and school administration, to obtain an intimate acquaintance with the work done and the methods by which better results might be accomplished.

In its endeavors the Association sought and received the cordial co-operation of the School Superintendent and of the Bureau of Building. At its first meeting Mr. Richmond was made its president, an office which he filled with great efficiency for several years and so long as the Association continued in existence. Various committees were appointed for special purposes of enlightenment, but the most important work of the Association was that done by its committee of examiners, 92 in all, to which was entrusted the careful investigation of the sanitary condition of every school in the city, the investigation in each case to be made by two persons, and by a carefully prepared scheme of scientific value, adapting for the purpose the main features of a blank form of examination which had originated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston.

There were then some 60 grade schools in Buffalo, and to relieve their congestion many annexes had been pressed into service; too often forlorn rented buildings, unsanitary and unsafe, as was clearly shown when the committee which had labored diligently, offered its first report. As the condition of one of these fire traps was recited, Mr. Richmond, who was presiding, guilelessly asked the principal of the school, who was present, how he would get the children out in case of fire.

"Oh," he said, "I should have to throw them out of the window."

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WHEN OUR PRESS WAS YOUNG

REMINISCENCES WRITTEN IN 1885

BY J. C. BRAYMAN

In 1831 I entered the office of the Buffalo *Bulletin* as an apprentice to the printing business. This paper had been established about a year before by Horace Steele and was ostensibly a working-man's organ, with decided irreligious, or "liberal," as some folks chose to phrase it—proclivities. In 1832 half of the interest in the paper was sold to J. S. Steele, a distant relative of the proprietor, who died about a year afterwards.

In 1834 the *Bulletin* was sold to James Faxon, a nephew of Charles Faxon of the *Republic*. I went with the office for the purpose of finishing my trade, as it was not thought at that time a boy or young man could become a full-waged printer in six months or a year. Early in 1835 we began to issue the *Western Star*,¹ as Buffalo was "out West" in those days, and not "down East," as now—a small daily paper, the first one ever issued in Buffalo. I remember that an exchange, speaking of the receipt of the first number, remarked that "it was about as large as a sheet of tin." What little editing was necessary I attended to. General M. Brayman of Wisconsin, then a law student,

1. The *Western Star* was first issued July 21, 1834, but soon became the *Star*. See under these names, in the bibliography in pages following.

edited the weekly paper and continued to do so after the union with the *Republican*, until the spring of 1837. Of the various changes that took place until the *Star* appeared as the *Courier*, under Mr. Joseph Stringham's administration, my memory does not serve me sufficiently well to enable me to give any connected account.

In 1842 I engaged with my friend, J. H. Lathrop, Esq., Collector of the Port under President Tyler, to superintend the publishing and do the editing of a daily administration paper, called the *Jeffersonian*. The federal office holders, however, were to furnish the political matter. This paper was published until the spring of 1843. In March, 1843, Messrs. Salisbury, Manchester and Brayman, commenced the publication of the daily, tri-weekly and weekly *Gazette*. It was continued about two years, when R. W. Haskins took the place of Mr. H. A. Salisbury, as one of the publishers and editors, and the name was changed to that of *National Pilot*. That came about in this way: Mr. Haskins, who was a "philosopher" and a scholar, was what was called in those days an Anglo-phobist. He had had for some years a hobby that all news, political and otherwise, from the other side of the water, came to us filtered through English sources and doctored to subserve English interests, and thus the American people were imposed upon and the rest of the world wronged. This he was bound to correct. His friends raised for him some two thousand dollars, which he invested in the paper and its name was changed by a two-thirds vote of the proprietors to the *National Pilot*. That is, we were going to pilot the nation out of the old way into the new one—going to get our foreign intelligence from Paris instead of London. As I anticipated, but few persons sympathized with Mr. Haskins' "advanced thought," and the enterprise fell through and Haskins retired.

In July, 1846, the *Courier* and *National Pilot* united, the name of the firm being Stringham, Manchester & Brayman, and of the consolidated paper the *Courier and Pilot*. Mr. Stringham desiring to go into banking or brokerage business, retired within a year, selling out to his partners. They soon after erected a building on the west side of Washington street near Exchange, with a business office connecting at No. 12 Exchange, as a general printing and job office.

About this time occurred the split in the Democratic party of the state, the factions bearing the euphonious names of "Old Hunkers" and "Barn-Burners." The *Courier*, believing the former to be in the regular Democratic succession, kept on the even tenor of its way. The *Republic* was started, and as the faction fight had served the Democratic party, in Buffalo at least, as Oscar Wilde served his hair—i. e., parted it in the middle—the patronage, never over-abundant, dwindled and the *Courier* was obliged to sell out. H. W. Rogers, Collector of the Port, and "boss" as we now say, of the local "Old Hunker" section of the party, was the real purchaser. W. A. Seaver, of Batavia, and Robert D. Foy, were installed as proprietors, and Duane Doty of Ogdensburg, as editor. In the fall of 1852, Mr. Doty retired and I was again called to the chair and continued as political editor until I left for Chicago in the spring of 1854.

Journalism in Buffalo, in its early and middle stages, passed through many changes of proprietors and editors. Messrs. Hezekiah A. and Smith H. Salisbury were the pioneers as early as 1811, when the inhabitants were few and far between. Of the old *Gazette*, I have but a dim and indistinct recollection. The *Patriot*, published by the Salisburys, kept on its course the longest and perhaps it is now as formerly the weekly of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The *Journal*, established by David M. Day, about 1820, was

subsequently published by Day, Follett & Haskins (Orren Follett and Roswell W. Haskins), and still later by Day, Stagg & Cadwallader (Dr. Henry R. Stagg and M. Cadwallader). After the death of Mr. Day it united with the *Patriot*. The history of the *Republican* has been given; the *Bulletin* was the next. Soon after the issue of the daily *Western Star*, four other dailies made their appearance—The daily *Journal*, *Republican*, *Literary Inquirer* and the *Commercial Advertiser*. The three first named passed away about as suddenly as they came into existence. The *Commercial* was issued from the *Patriot* office by Salisbury and Manchester, with Guy H. Salisbury, son of Smith H., as editor. Subsequently Mr. Salisbury having retired from the editorial chair rather suddenly, I was called to fill it pro tem until a successor was found. In the course of a few months he came in the person of Dr. Thomas M. Foote, who subsequently developed into one of the ablest editors in the country.

Many other papers, daily and weekly, were established, both in the early and later days of Buffalo, flourished for a season and passed away. The necrology of journalism in Buffalo forms a somewhat extensive list since my connection with it in 1831. I recall, as those with whom I was acquainted and who have passed away: Smith H. Salisbury, Hezekiah A. Salisbury, Guy H. Salisbury, J. L. Steele, Horace Steele, Bradford A. Manchester, Thomas M. Foote, T. Parmelee, Rufus Wheeler, W. A. Seaver, Charles Faxon, James Faxon, Henry Faxon, James Stryker, T. Burwell, Horatio Gates, Daniel Munger, R. D. Foy, David M. Day, R. W. Haskins, Orren Follett, J. C. Bunner, Duane Doty, Stephen Albro, Joseph Warren, E. A. Maynard, E. P. Smith, M. Cadwallader, H. R. Stagg, William Verrinder, William Casper, W. L. Carpenter, Seth C. Hawley, Jesse Clement. There are two or three in the above list whose names I am not entirely certain of having

seen in the obituary column, while there is quite a number whom I have lost sight of and who are doubtless not among the living. Of the older stock I do not call to mind any except E. R. Jewett whom I always regarded as one of the noblest men connected with Buffalo journalism.

Mr. Manchester had a good deal of journalistic enterprise about him. When one of the proprietors of the *Gazette*, he established a line of carrier pigeons from an eastern point by which we received news in advance of the mail. Telegraphs were in the future at that time. He also imported from New York the first genuine newsboys ever seen west of that city; and we had the first cylinder press west of Albany at least.

Guy H. Salisbury was a genuine poet, small in person, gentle as a girl, and as pure in all things as it is given to man to be. Sad indeed it was that he found his death beneath the waters of Buffalo creek.

Dr. Foote established a national reputation as editor of the *Commercial*. I might go on with a characterization of many able and noble men who have been connected with journalism in Buffalo whom I have met in the last 50 years, and who are worthily represented by those who control the newspaper press of the present.

EARLY DAYS OF THE BUFFALO COURIER¹

BY JAMES STRINGHAM.

You would like to have me tell you of the early years of the *Buffalo Courier* and I will do so to the best of my ability.

Mr. Charles Faxon founded a paper (weekly) in Buffalo called the *Republican*, I think in or about the year 1836, as the representative of the Anti-Federal Republican party and opponent of the Anti-Masonic party, which then was dominant in all the old Eighth Senatorial District of New York, in which Erie County was included.

It was an almost hopeless venture as the number of subscribers was few and the antagonism of party enemies bitter and intolerant. The defeat of Mr. Van Buren in 1840 was crushing to the hopes of the publishers, who had during that political campaign started a daily paper called the *Star*,² edited by Mr. Horatio Gates, which maintained a feeble existence for a few years. Meanwhile Mr. Faxon had been obliged to let the property pass into the hands of Mr. Theodotus Burwell who took the publication of both papers (daily and weekly) into his own hands and employed a young man of fine abilities to edit it—Mr. White—but his health failed and Mr. Burwell offered the whole

1. Written in 1896 for the *Courier*, but here printed from Mr. Stringham's manuscript, preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

2. See note under "*Star*" in the following list.

property, good will and printing material—for sale. He had changed the name of the *Star* to *Daily Mercantile Courier & Democratic Economist*, and of the weekly, to the *Economist*.

I was at this time about amid the wreckage of the financial storm of 1836-40, and at the suggestion of my friend Mr. Edward S. Warren, engaged into and finally purchased the establishment for \$200.

The paper was being printed by Mr. C. F. S. Thomas on contract, he at the same time running a job printing office on his own account.

Before making the purchase there was a frank discussion of the situation between Mr. Thomas and myself, the result of which was that he agreed to continue printing the paper for me on the press and with the type belonging to the paper for a substantial period, to be paid for out of the subscriptions and accounts of the paper and without any advance being given me for any consideration in having the right to stop printing whenever he should find it was no longer worth the cost to me—\$30 per annum for publication.

The value of the establishment at the time was under \$30 and the value of the press and type, of little mechanical value.

As a result of this discussion, Mr. Thomas and myself entered into a verbal agreement, the terms of which were that Mr. Thomas should continue to print the paper for me on the press and with the type belonging to the paper for a substantial period, to be paid for out of the subscriptions and accounts of the paper and without any advance being given me for any consideration in having the right to stop printing whenever he should find it was no longer worth the cost to me—\$30 per annum for publication.

The agreement was made in the presence of Mr. Warren, who was at the time a friend of both of us, and who acted as a witness to the agreement.

Small as was the business open to us a contestant for it soon appeared in the *National Pilot* started by B. A. Manchester and conducted in the interest of the Anti-Van Buren Democrats and Tyler men. Mr. George W. Clinton, afterwards Judge Clinton, was then supposed to be the head and front of that interest and had quite a following in the city. We had no controversy however; each pursued his own way.

Under my administration the name of the daily was changed three times, first to *Daily Courier & Economist*, then to *Buffalo Courier*, and last, in 1846, when it was united with the *Pilot*, to *Daily Courier & Pilot*.

This change was made in 1846 and the paper was published in the firm name of Stringham, Manchester & Brayman, with myself as political editor for a few months when I sold out to Manchester & Brayman who continued the publication about a year and sold it to Mr. Robert D. Foy, from whose hands it passed to Mr. William A. Seaver of Batavia by whom it was published under the editorial charge of James O. Brayman, until it was sold (I think in 1855 or '56) to Mr. Warren of New York, Mr. Seaver having changed the name again to *Buffalo Courier*.

After the nomination of James K. Polk in 1844, I felt that it was necessary for me to have assistance in the editorial conduct of the paper and I engaged the services of Mr. Charles D. Ferris, an industrious and vigorous writer, for that purpose. His work in the editorial columns shows by an asterisk. The arrangement closed with the election and that was the only case in which I had such assistance.

It is hardly possible for any person at this time [1896] to understand the difficulty of sustaining a daily newspaper 50 or 60 years ago in an interior town. There were no telegraphs. All outside news was brought by the mails, which would reach the people generally and be read and

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Before making the purchase there was a frank discussion of the situation between Mr. Thomas and myself, the result of which was that he agreed to continue printing the paper for me on the press and with the type belonging to the paper for a ridiculously low price to be paid for out of the subscriptions and accounts of the paper and without any personal claim against me for any deficiency (he having the right to stop printing it whenever he should find it was not paying) giving me the right to use \$300 per annum for editorial services, etc.

I think the circulation of the daily was under 300 and of the weekly very small and of little pecuniary value.

Opposed to me was the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, edited by Dr. Thomas M. Foote and published by Jewett, Foote & Co.; strong in its finances, strong in talent and strong in the support of the whole business community. I owed much at this time to the cheerful courage of Mr. Thomas. Being myself entirely ignorant of newspaper work and printing, I took upon myself without any assistance the drudgery of the editorial and office work and we made it pay.

As we went along my party friends threw in my way the offices of county treasurer and city printer and city clerk; otherwise I never had and never asked for any financial help from them.

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digested before it could be laid before them by the local papers. There was little local news. The usages of society at that time would not permit the publication of the details of private social functions which now take up so much room in and add so much to the interest of the local paper.

The closing scene in the campaign of 1844 is vividly impressed on my mind. It was in my office in the third story of the Sidway Block on Main street at the Terrace, over the office of the bank of White & Wilkeson. The election returns had been received from all the states showing that the result depended upon the State of New York and enough had been received from that State to show that a considerable defection in the Democratic vote of the city (which had not yet been canvassed) would give the State to the Whigs. There was a conductor on the train which was due that evening who was a Democrat and we expected decisive news by his train. He had agreed with us to wave a lantern when the train turned the curve in the road visible from the Exchange-street depot, if Mr. Polk's majority in the city exceeded 3,000; otherwise, to keep dark. Isaiah Rynders was then a conspicuous figure in New York and it was feared that his following might have proved treacherous. Of Silas Wright's election as Governor by about 5,000 majority we were satisfied but we feared for Mr. Polk, as President.

My office was crowded. Messrs. Albert H. Tracy, Dean Richmond, Warren Bryant, Erastus Sparrow, James G. Dickin, Philip Dursheimer, I. T. Hatch, Edward S. Warren, Henry K. Smith and a number whose names I cannot recollect, were there awaiting the signal. In due time it came in a cry brought up Exchange street from corner to corner: "Hurrah for Polk! Hurrah for Polk!" Pandemonium reigned.

Another crowd had been waiting in the Whig headquarters. Shortly they dispersed to their homes: Messrs.

Millard Fillmore, N. K. Hall, Solomon G. Haven, Thomas M. Foote, Thomas T. Sherwood, E. R. Jewett, W. A. Moseley, James Davock, H. J. Stow, Lewis F. Allen, etc.; and so the curtain fell upon a drama which proved the close of the brilliant career of Henry Clay.

digested before it could be laid before them by the local papers. There was little local news. The usages of society at that time would not permit the publication of the details of private social functions which now take up so much room in and add so much to the interest of the local paper.

The closing scene in the campaign of 1844 is vividly impressed on my mind. It was in my office in the third story of the Sidway Block on Main street at the Terrace, over the office of the bank of White & Wilkeson. The election returns had been received from all the states showing that the result depended upon the State of New York and enough had been received from that State to show that a considerable defection in the Democratic vote of the city (which had not yet been canvassed) would give the State to the Whigs. There was a conductor on the train which was due that evening who was a Democrat and we expected decisive news by his train. He had agreed with us to wave a lantern when the train turned the curve in the road visible from the Exchange-street depot, if Mr. Polk's majority in the city exceeded 3,000; otherwise, to keep dark. Isaiah Rynders was then a conspicuous figure in New York and it was feared that his following might have proved treacherous. Of Silas Wright's election as Governor by about 5,000 majority we were satisfied but we feared for Mr. Polk, as President.

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THE COURIER IN THE EARLY EIGHTIES

BY FREDERICK J. SHEPARD.

In midsummer of 1880 an invitation reached me from David Gray, then editor of the *Courier*, to join its staff. I was with the *New York World*, of which the brilliant but not irreproachable William Henry Hurlburt was editor, and the offer came through Joseph O'Connor, whose acquaintance I had made a few years before on the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and who had also got for me the place on the *World*.

As soon as it had been arranged that my salary should be \$27.50 per week I accepted Mr. Gray's proposition. He was assisted in editorial writing by O'Connor and Otto F. Albing. Thomas Kean, who on account of his dramatic interest and enthusiasm has been styled the William Winter of Buffalo, was city editor, but he lived in LaSalle and took two days off a week, so that a large share of his work fell on his assistant, George E. Allen; J. Emerson Locke was telegraph editor; Harry D. Vought was, I think, "doing" the railroads and police business; and Simon Fleischmann was assisting Kean with the theaters and music, though from 1882 to 1889 he had entire charge of this department. I am not sure of the names of any of the other city men when I joined the staff, but a little later George Ferris came over from the *Express* and succeeded Kean as city editor. Among still later acqui-

tions were Leslie Thom, Walter Cary, the clever Willard E. Keyes, whose wit now scintillates in the *Youth's Companion*—though chiefly in its business department—William S. Rann, William D. Barney, Carl K. Friedman, and Francis A. Crandall, the last named a very efficient managing editor during a part of the period of Edwin Fleming's editorship, Mr. Fleming having in 1885 succeeded O'Connor, who had himself succeeded Gray.

Most of the gentlemen of this group, with all of whom it may be said in passing that it was a pleasure to associate, served the paper at a time later than that concerning which I am trying to write, and all of them, except Thom and Crandall, are still in the land of the living, I am glad to add. My own work began as exchange reader and editor of correspondence.

Two Sunday features were Miss Charlotte Mulligan's review of the week's music and Miss Jane Meade Welch's social column. The authorship of the latter had originally been a secret, and as it was then signed "Nemo" the practice still prevailed of referring to it as the Nemo column. It was, I am pretty sure, the first attempt of a Buffalo journal to cover the social field systematically, and was read very closely. It must be remembered that until late in 1880 the *Courier* was the only Buffalo daily with a Sunday issue, the *Sunday Express* first appearing November 20, 1883.

The *News* and *Times* had Sunday editions only, the *Evening News* first coming out October 11, 1880, and the *Daily Times* September 13, 1883. The offices of the *Courier* were on Washington Street, the city force being on the second floor, the editorial writers on the third, and the composing room on the fourth.

Probably as a necessary consequence of the fact that the *Courier* was a side issue of a great show-printing establishment, its management was easy-going. It seemed

especially so to a young man fresh from a New York office, where the force assembled daily wondering for what in the last preceding issue they were individually to be called to an account. The very first advice I received was from George Allen, and was that I should not try to reform anything about the paper. Mr. Gray, who was a sweet and gentle soul, told me that the *Courier* was conservative and old-fashioned. If I remember aright, he put it rather more strongly than that, and I know he modestly added that before O'Connor joined the staff it had been dull. On another occasion he told me—what was evident enough—that he was a man of peace and proceeded to smooth over some matter concerning which I had complained. On the whole, he probably got better work out of his associates than if he had been constantly finding fault with them, for what is gained by insistently holding men up to the exact ideas of their director is likely to be more than lost by the irritation it causes, with the consequent quenching of professional enthusiasm.

There is a story which may still be current in newspaper offices, of the Kentucky editor who thus addressed his associates: "Boys, you ought to make your papah cawn-sist. It doesn't look well to have an article in one column contradicting an article in another column. Come boys, let's go out and have a cawktail." It is to be feared that the *Courier* was not always impervious to criticism of this sort. Sometimes the Sunday review of musical events did not exactly jibe with the daily reports of the same matters, and it certainly amazed the new recruit to find a different style of capitalization on the local page from that employed in the rest of the paper. The fact probably was that Kean, who prided himself on never having worked on any other paper, insisted on a free use of capitals in his department, and that Gray let him have his way, thinking justly that nobody outside the office would ever notice the lack of

uniformity and that the matter was not of enough importance to justify friction with Kean, who apparently did not regard himself as a subordinate. In fact, if Gray exercised any authority over the city department there was no evidence that such was the case. The controlling owner, Charles W. McCune, showed rare judgment and restraint in one in his position by never meddling with newspaper details. He seldom visited the newspaper offices, and though he doubtless directed the general policy of the *Courier*, he confined his intercourse to the person in charge, leaving the subordinates unembarrassed by his interference, for which they should have been grateful, as is at least one of them to this day.

To a considerable extent, therefore, in the early eighties things ran themselves in the *Courier* office, but the paper compared favorably with its competitors. Its tone was high, and its treatment of politics and other disputed questions was fair and reasonable, though probably as a concession to irresistible outside pressure it was apt to go at election time on what O'Connor called an annual political debauch. One feature for which it had some fame was its kindly tributes to deceased persons, whether prominent or otherwise. Allen used to make fun of these, constructing fictitious obituary sketches beginning, "John Smith, long and favorably known as a driver on the Erie Canal," etc.

Editorially the *Courier* was very strong, being easily the leading democratic journal of the state outside of New York; and it is a question whether even this limitation is deserved. Of Gray's own work as a writer I do not remember much, and he had probably done the best of it before I knew him, but even after his breakdown in health and final departure from the office, which occurred in the summer of 1882, he was able to turn off excellent things, as witness the touching article he wrote on the death of Judge George W. Clinton, which occurred while the old

lawyer was gathering wild flowers in an Albany cemetery. The first marked evidence of Gray's illness shown in the office was his inability to recall the name of the type in which the editorials were set, a word he had been writing on the margin of his copy a dozen times a day for years.

As for his two associates, O'Connor and Albing, both were uncommonly able writers. Indeed, the former had few, if any, equals in the country. With the widest information possessed by any man I ever knew, a very keen literary sense, a memory rivalling in retentiveness that of Macaulay, and a genial style all his own, he could turn off in daily profusion, on all sorts of subjects, articles so informative and so well put that most of them were worthy of permanent preservation, a distinction that some of them of a much later date and written for another newspaper have received. He was also the author of a volume of verse which deserves wider acquaintance than it has obtained. He was the only newspaper writer I ever knew who was never at a loss for a subject. So wide were his interests and so general his knowledge that it is difficult to name any particular theme on which he was best, but his information was especially minute regarding the Civil War (which he had followed from a Rochester newspaper office), the text of Shakespeare, his acquaintance with which must have begun almost in his cradle, and the history of England in her relation to Ireland and the Roman Catholic church. He was even interested in sport, and had at his fingers' end the chronicle of the British prize ring, discoursing humorously of Molyneaux, the black, and Sam, the Jewish phenomenon, though nothing would have induced him to witness an actual contest. Of the charm of his conversation and the loveliness of his character this is not the place to speak, but the place he filled in the hearts of those who knew him was evidenced by the throng that followed him to his grave in a Rochester cemetery in 1908, and which

represented all grades of society from college professors and congressmen to scrubwomen. One poor woman whom he had befriended and who fancied that she had no clothes befitting her attendance at the funeral waited until the mourners had departed and then took her place beside the grave, where she spent the afternoon.

Albing was a Hanoverian by birth and had studied at three German universities, which gave point to a story he used to tell of trying to converse during a railroad journey with a Pennsylvania Dutchman, who finally despairingly exclaimed: "I cannot your Plattdeutsch understand," to which Albing promptly responded: "And I certainly do not understand your high German." Because when a European princeling died or did something else worth noticing Albing came out with a minute account of his life, with mention of all his kindred, some readers of the *Courier* got the idea that his knowledge was confined to European matters. As a fact he limited his writing almost exclusively to political and historical subjects, though there were other themes, such as life insurance, of which he had made a study, that he could have discussed with value to his readers. He was a master of American political history, and towards the end of his life began writing a history of the Reconstruction period, which was unfortunately never finished and never printed.

Speaking of this work, he gave a curious illustration of his love of accuracy. "I gave a certain date," he said, "as that on which Alabama adopted the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery on the strength of Secretary Seward's proclamation announcing such action. That ought to have been pretty good authority, but it was wrong."

His knowledge of the American Constitution was wonderfully thorough, and he used to amuse himself by speculating on the effect of changing a clause here and there in

that instrument. But the most remarkable thing about his knowledge was its precision, for he rarely found it necessary to refresh his memory by recourse to books. In fact, his associates had more confidence in his recollection of political history than in the encyclopedias. He showed a feeling that was almost distress when he found in a handsomely illustrated book a picture of Napoleon taking his farewell look at England's shores, for the inscription underneath confused the *Bellerophon*, to which Napoleon surrendered, with the *Northumberland*, which took him to St. Helena. O'Connor maintained that Albing's proper place was the chair of a university professor, and he would have won recognition there both by his learning and by his clearness in demonstration. Moreover, we do not usually expect in a learned German such a keen sense of humor as was his. He once said that there was a certain stupid sincerity about the Democratic party which the Republicans lacked, but perhaps he balanced this by confessing at a later and politically depressing period—say about the time of Roosevelt's election to the Presidency: "Sometimes I think it would be a good thing if the Democratic party would disband. And I say this after writing Democratic editorials for forty years."

Naturally, with his limited range of work, he did not find subjects for his pen so readily as did his colleague, O'Connor, and he was known to exclaim: "I wonder what I will write about tonight! I believe I will have a controversy with the *Troy Times*," knowing the journal in question was always game for a "scrap."

Not only had he a store of humorous German stories, but he hugely enjoyed those of his adopted country, though sometimes he had to study them for a while or even to appeal to his associates for their explanation. He inquired the meaning of the phrase, "a little tin god on wheels"; and when Congressman Wise stepped back to let ex-Senator



Edmunds precede him into the Senate chamber, exclaiming: "The x's always go before the y's," Albing asked: "I understand about the ex-senator, but why y's?" He used to say that he never knew but one German who came to this country as an adult that mastered the English language, namely Carl Schurz. He was never himself, at least so long as I was on the *Courier*, quite safe on the perfect tense, though the spelling of English words never troubled him; indeed, his American-born associates have been known to appeal to him in such matters, just as they did on historical points. It is only justice to add that a more patriotic American never lived. He not only heartily admired the American Constitution and our form of government, but he even preferred some American social customs to those of his native land, criticising the eagerness of some Americans to introduce German notions. In fact, his sympathy with Germany seemed to be confined to the patient workpeople of that country, for he used to say that they had not even yet fully recovered from the devastation wrought by the Thirty Years War. A tribute to Albing's remarkable qualities, which at the same time illustrates the writer's literary charm, was paid by O'Connor in the *Rochester Post Express* of August 18, 1905, and is preserved in the Buffalo Public Library.

Of the other men on the *Courier* who have passed away, Locke is remembered chiefly as a veteran who did not boast of his military service, but who had marched with Sherman to the sea, as a bugler, I think. Leslie Thom, of Scotch extraction, was a fluent writer who could on demand produce a column on almost any subject without materially adding to the reader's enlightenment, though not without a clever way of putting things, as when he described the sturdy park superintendent, William McMillan, as "a perfect tank of poetry." Under the grotesque name of "Carbolic C. Maginnis," which he borrowed from a misprinted

death notice—first and last the *Courier* was guilty of some notable typographical infelicities—Thom conducted an elaborate newspaper correspondence under the guise of a local Republican politician and contractor, giving away supposed party schemes and even going so far as to use a printed letterhead, with of course an address that represented an empty lot. Then there was poor John Schrader, promoted from proofreader to ship news reporter, who was killed by falling through the hatchway of a vessel, whose captain had invited him to dinner. Another proofreader, named Spencer if memory serves, occasionally contributed odes, in one of which the street car authorities graciously granted a plea for the heating of their vehicles by consenting to add another wisp of hay to the floor covering then in vogue. Another described a proofreader's funeral, at which the only mourner was the office towel, a bit of facetiousness appreciable only by those familiar with an old-fashioned newspaper office.

In the earliest eighties the *Courier* had an evening edition, the *Evening Republic*, which came as near editing itself as ever a newspaper did, for aside from having headlines written for fresh telegrams and the addition of a few local items, it was made up entirely in the composing room of matter lifted from the columns of the morning *Courier*. Naturally this arrangement did not long continue.



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**CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
BUFFALO AND THE NIAGARA REGION**

**THE PERIODICAL PRESS
OF BUFFALO
1811-1915**

**Compiled by
FRANK H. SEVERANCE**

INTRODUCTION

In printing the following list of the periodical publications of Buffalo, a few words of introduction are needed, not so much to point out what the list is, as to specify what it is not.

It is not a history of Buffalo journalism, nor a substitute for it. It is however material likely to prove useful to whoever shall hereafter undertake to write such a history. Curiously enough, although the press has been active in Buffalo now for more than a century, no adequate history of it as an institution, as an important part of and influence in the life and growth of this community, has ever been written.

In 1846, a convention of editors and publishers was held at Rochester, at which steps were taken for the compilation and publication of a History of the Press of Western New York. The Buffalo press was represented in the convention by the Rev. John A. Robie, at that time editor of the *Genesee Evangelist*, but later, for many years, editor of the *Christian Advocate* of Buffalo; Dr. Thomas M. Foote of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Almon M. Clapp, editor of the newly-founded *Buffalo Express*; and Guy H. Salisbury, the most versatile and graceful writer of the early press, and evidently one of the most whimsical and unreliable geniuses connected at any period with the press of this city. To Mr. Salisbury was assigned the task of preparing a sketch of "The Early History of the Press of Erie County." He did so; and his paper, as above entitled, is preserved in volume II., Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society.

It is our most valuable and trustworthy source of information regarding the early press. The papers themselves should take precedence, but unfortunately the Buffalo journals of early years exist, if at all, only in fragmentary fashion. The Buffalo Historical Society has only a few scattered numbers of the first newspaper printed in this town, the pioneer *Gazette*. The only file in existence, worthy the name, so far as known, is in the Buffalo Public Library. Incomplete and mutilated as it is, it is a precious possession. Of its immediate successors, no complete files are known; and of many of the early publications, not even a copy of a single issue is known to survive.

Mr. Salisbury was the best possible choice as historian of the early press of Buffalo. He was the son of Smith H. Salisbury, the

elder of the two men who founded and published Buffalo's first paper. Though born in Canandaigua (on Christmas Day, 1811), Guy grew up in Buffalo, spent most of his life here, and for much of the time had close association with the press of the growing town. He knew his field; and the record he made of it, down to and including the year 1846, is our best "source" authority on the subject. What he prepared was afterwards incorporated in a sketch entitled "The Press of Western New York," compiled by Frederick Follett of Batavia, and printed, with an account of the Printers' Festival held in Rochester, January 18, 1847. This octavo pamphlet of 76 pages, bearing the imprint of Jerome & Brother, Daily American office, Rochester, 1847, is a trustworthy source of information regarding the early press of the several New York counties west of Seneca Lake. To it, and to Guy H. Salisbury's sketch of the Erie County press, all modern reviews of the subject (in county histories, newspapers, etc.,) are indebted. A few facts regarding the early press of Buffalo were contributed to Mr. Follett's pamphlet by William A. Carpenter, a pioneer among Buffalo printers whose name and work should be remembered. The following letter by Mr. Carpenter, written for the festival above spoken of, contains facts not elsewhere recorded:

BUFFALO, JAN. 15, 1847.

. . . The 1st of December, 1796, I commenced learning the printing business. On the 1st Tuesday of January, 1803, I became the proprietor and editor of a press in Goshen, N. Y., and lost it by fire in 1805. Soon after I occasionally worked as a journeyman, until I came to reside at this place in 1810, there being no printer here. I am now the oldest resident member of the craft in this part of "the then West."

In October, 1811, Messrs. S. H. and H. A. Salisbury established the *Buffalo Gazette*, the first paper printed in this county, and I helped them out with their first number. The same year I moved to Batavia and assisted Mr. Benjamin Blodgett as printer and editor of the *Republican Advocate* for about two years. In 1814 I returned to this county and assisted the Messrs. Salisbury in the management of their paper until the close of the war.

Mr. David M. Day in July, 1815, established the *Niagara Journal*, it then being Niagara County. I helped him issue his first number. These two printing establishments were the only ones in this county for about 12 years. The former is continued to this day (with a great many of the subscribers of its first numbers), under the title of the *Buffalo Patriot* (weekly), and the *Commercial Advertiser* (daily).

The first Tuesday in January, 1817, I established the *Chautauque Gazette*, at Fredonia, beat and pulled, with my own hands, the first

number, it being the first paper printed in Chautauque County. I soon sold to Mr. James Hall, a partner in the interest of the establishment.

In 1818, I purchased Mr. S. H. Salisbury's interest in the *Buffalo Gazette*, and became a partner with his brother, Mr. H. A. Salisbury, and in about three months sold to him. In 1826, I again associated myself with Mr. H. A. Salisbury as partner and assistant editor of the *Buffalo Patriot*, until 1834, when I retired from any responsible part in the duties of the Press. . .

WM. A. CARPENTER.

One of Buffalo's pioneer printers was Eber D. Howe, who came to Upper Canada as a child, with his parents, in 1811. In 1878 Mr. Howe, then resident at Painesville, Ohio, published his boyhood reminiscences of the War of 1812 on the Niagara frontier, and also of his employment soon after in the office of the *Buffalo Gazette*. About a year after the close of the war he found himself, he says in his narrative, "in the then small town of Buffalo, on Main street, with two shillings in my pocket, with here and there a scattering house—not reading the sign-boards with a loaf of bread under my arm, as did Franklin in the streets of Philadelphia, for they were too few and far between—but I did see one which read 'Printing Office.'" He continues:

It had a small book-store on the ground floor, where I concluded it would be no intrusion to enter; and after sticking a cigar in my mouth—a good deal after the fashion of Young America now-a-days, which I have ever since looked upon as one of the silliest acts of my boyhood days—I boldly made my first step toward becoming a Ben Franklin. This proved to be the place where the *Buffalo Gazette* was published, the same old paper that I had been reading before the war. It was the first paper started west of Canandaigua, or on the borders of Lake Erie, and during the troubles on the border was published 14 miles to the eastward.

After maneuvering around for some time I ventured to enquire if they wanted an apprentice. After some hesitation, and taking a view of my caliber and physique, replied that they did. This was rather flattering to my pride (if I had any), and Ben Franklin again popped into my mind, as I had formed the idea that it required something far above the common race of mortals to become a printer—more especially as old Faust, the first inventor of type, had been charged by the Pope with being in league with the devil. But I had good reasons afterward to greatly modify my ideas on that point. Suffice it to say that I soon entered into an agreement to give my time and attention to their interests for the term of four years, at an annual stipend of 40, 50, 60 and 80 dollars per year.

The proprietors of this paper were two brothers who had graduated from the office of the *Ontario Repository*, then a pioneer paper.

Their names were Smith H. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury, both practical printers. The eldest was a pretty shrewd business man, and a good editorial writer. He severed his connection with the paper in the spring of 1818, and the name of the paper was changed to that of *Buffalo Patriot* and some years afterwards, the *Daily Commercial Advertiser* emanated from the same establishment, which is continued to this day. Smith H. Salisbury was not successful in business, and died in Rochester at the age of about fifty. Hezekiah held a connection with the paper for many years; was frugal, honest, and upright in all his dealings with others, and continued in laborious toil to quite an advanced age. Guy H. was an only son of the elder Salisbury, was a fine writer, edited the *Commercial Advertiser* for some years, and finally fell a victim to the intoxicating cup.

The paper had then a circulation of about 1,000, and the time occupied in striking off this edition was two days with two hands at the press. The same amount of work in these days is done in two hours. I was assigned to this branch of the business with another boy of my age. Our press was after the old pattern used in the days of Franklin, with a short screw and lever, and printed one page at each pull—and, therefore, required four solid jerks to every sheet. We took turn about at the lever for each ten quires of paper on one side—i. e., one put the ink upon the type while the other took the impression. The present generation of printers would be greatly amused to witness the manner of inking the type in those days. We made two balls of wool, covered with green sheepskin, about the size of a man's head. To these were attached perpendicular handles, and after applying the ink to the outer surface each page of the type was briskly struck eight or ten times. The present mode of applying the ink by means of rollers, made of glue and molasses, came into vogue about the year 1830.

The earliest history of Buffalo journalism is probably the following paragraph from Buffalo's first Directory, published in 1828:

There are published in this village five newspapers, viz.: *Buffalo Journal*, *Buffalo Patriot*, *Buffalo Emporium*, *Buffalo & Black Rock Gazette* and *Western Advertiser*. The *Emporium* is published semi-weekly, the others weekly. The *Patriot* and *Journal* are the oldest establishments, the former having been commenced in 1811, under the name of the *Buffalo Gazette*, and the latter in 1815, under that of the *Niagara Journal*. The *Emporium* was commenced in 1824; the *Buffalo & Black Rock Gazette* was removed from Black Rock to this village, in November last, at which time the word "Buffalo" was added to its title. The *Advertiser* was commenced in December last. The *Journal* and the *Emporium* are owned and conducted in connection with book-printing, book-binding and book-selling operations, which are pursued to an extent, in the various branches, commensurate with the existing demand.

When Buffalo became a city, in April, 1832, its newspapers were the *Patriot*, *Journal*, *Republican*, and *Bulletin*, all weeklies; its

first daily, the *Western Star*, did not appear until July, 1834. The Erie Canal had been open for half a dozen years, but the mail came by stage. There was no railroad, no telegraph, no telephone, no press association. The gathering and distribution of news, as a business, had not begun.

No character of those early days of Buffalo journalism rivals in interest that of Guy H. Salisbury. As a most appreciative sketch of him, by David Gray, is already preserved in the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society (Vol. IX.), any further review of his career is here uncalled for. As Mr. Gray points out, Mr. Salisbury was perpetually changing his business, and no sooner out of newspaper work than he sought to get back in again. The following letter relating to one such change, is so characteristic and touches so much Buffalo newspaper history, that it is worth preserving in this connection:

BUFFALO, OCT. 28, 1847.

To the Editor of the *Buffalo Republic*:

My attention having been called to an article in the editorial columns of your paper of Monday, I find you therein say, in alluding to my recent connection with the *Buffalo Courier*: "One of the editors—Mr. Salisbury—was one of the editors of the same Whig organ (*The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*) and fought valiantly for Whiggery in 1840."

In this you—no doubt unintentionally—do me an injustice. I was, that year, engaged in farming in the adjoining county of Wyoming, and as far as was in my power aided in battling against the rampant "Whiggery of 1840." But that I was, for a period, one of the editors and publishers of the *Commercial Advertiser*, I cannot deny. And as my political connection with that paper has been the subject of some misapprehension I ask to be allowed a few words of explanation:

I claim to be a Radical Democrat. My first editorials were written during the great contest of 1828, when Andrew Jackson was elevated to the Presidency by the Democracy of the nation. In that struggle my unpracticed pen essayed to aid the efforts of the little band of Democrats who stood up in Erie county in behalf of their principles. In 1829, I was for a time—at the age of seventeen—editor of the old *Buffalo Republican*, the original Democratic paper in this county.

From that period I continued to advocate the Democratic faith, by tongue, pen, and vote, until the removal of the Deposites by President Jackson, in 1834. This act I regarded as a usurpation of power—as a pernicious precedent—although it eventuated happily in the destruction of the Bank Hydra. The consequent denunciation of political associates alienated my feelings and action; and an opportunity appearing for an advantageous connection with the *Commercial Advertiser* establishment, I embraced it. But that while

thus lucratively situated, the Independent Treasury plan of 1837 was openly and earnestly defended by myself, personally, from its first promulgation, is well known to the editor of that paper, then, as now, its principal political conductor.

The very fact that my Radical Democratic principles were too conscientiously entertained to admit of denial or concealment, induced me in a degree to ultimately dispose of my interest in the establishment of the *Commercial Advertiser*. How far that step has been for me a sacrifice of pecuniary interest is unnecessary to mention.

Disconnected as I now am with the public press, it is of little consequence to others what my political principles may be, or have been. But it is otherwise with myself—and having heretofore suffered, in silence, much misconception of motive and misapprehension of position, I take this occasion to trespass on your indulgence with these paragraphs.

Yours,

GUY H. SALISBURY.

Mr. C. F. S. Thomas, who came to Buffalo in May, 1835, is our authority¹ for the statement that the first power-press was brought to Buffalo by B. A. Manchester in 1838. "This," writes Mr. Thomas, "was the old Adams press, very different from the lightning-speed machines now in use. It was with difficulty, even with the assistance of four feeders and a man to turn the wheel, that 500 impressions per hour were obtained." It was also Mr. Manchester who first brought to Buffalo a cylinder press, used in printing the *National Pilot*, 1845.

In May, 1835, Nathan Lyman established the first type foundry in Buffalo, with the backing of White & Co., of New York. Mr. Lyman later became the sole owner, and for many years carried on this important adjunct of the printing business in Buffalo.

In 1846, Jewett, Thomas & Co., installed the first stereotyping plant.

One of Mr. Thomas' anecdotes is of Buffalo's celebration of Washington's Birthday in 1832. At a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1863 Mr. Thomas exhibited "an ode commemorative of Washington's Birthday printed on a press which moved in the procession, Feb. 22, 1832." He described it as follows:

At that time Buffalo was a small place and the getting up a press and working it in the procession was an affair of some magnitude. Mr. B. A. Manchester was then an apprentice to Hezekiah Salisbury, and was on the stage to distribute the ode as fast as it was printed. This copy was one which he threw to Miss Miller, then an

1. Unpublished reminiscences written in 1863, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

entire stranger to him, who was among the spectators. She afterwards became his wife.

The following is also from Mr. Thomas' reminiscences:

It was in the year 1838, I think, that a very worthy printer, residing in the parish of St. Helier, Isle of Jersey, having in mind the enlightenment of the benighted people of this region, discontinued a very respectable weekly paper he then published in St. Helier, packed up all his old type and presses on which his paper had been printed, and all his other printing paraphernalia, brought it all to London; there he purchased a few additional types and some paper; then freighted the whole from London to New York, and from there up the Erie Canal to Buffalo. Arriving there he rented the building on Washington street, known as the old Niagara Bank, and set up his "printing-house" in the basement. His family occupied the main part of the building as a dwelling.

Mr. Lecras was an educated Franco-Englishman, with a fair share of the prejudices of the natives of the fast-anchored isle, and could not conceive that away out in Buffalo such a thing could be possible as a printing establishment equal to the one he had brought all the way from Jersey, in Great Britain. He was still more astonished when he found his printing house on Washington street created no sensation—in fact, but few knew of his arrival. So, after remaining about a year, he became disgusted with our want of appreciation, packed up all his old types, presses and printing materials, sent them down the Erie Canal to New York, from there to Liverpool, and thence back to Jersey, where the material was soon again employed in printing the journal he had left, and I believe the business is still continued by his sons.

A truly great event in the progress of American journalism was the invention of the telegraph, and its use for news gathering and distribution. There was, however, no sudden revolution. The public was slow to realize all that it meant, and the service at first was very limited and subject to interruption.

The telegraph was more than two years in reaching Buffalo, after its first use between Washington and Baltimore, May 24, 1844. On May 30th, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* reprinted from the *Baltimore Patriot* a short account of that famous first telegraphic conversation. It says nothing of the reputed first message, "What hath God wrought," but gives this version of the first transmission:

Morse's Electro Magnetic Telegraph now connects between the Capitol at Washington and the railroad depot in Pratt, between Charles and Light streets, Baltimore. The wires were brought in yesterday from the outer depot and attached to the telegraphic apparatus in a third-story room in the depot warehouse building. The batteries were charged this morning and the telegraph put in

full operation, conveying intelligence to and from the Capitol. A large number of gentlemen were present to see the operations of this truly astonishing contrivance. Many admitted to the room had their names sent down, and in less than a second the apparatus in Baltimore was put in operation by the attendant in Washington, and before the lapse of half a minute the same names were returned plainly written. At half past 11 o'clock A. M., the question being asked here, "What the news was at Washington?" the answer was almost instantaneously returned, "Van Buren stock is rising."

On May 27th the Baltimore *Patriot* received 12 lines of news of Congress, by wire—the first telegraphic newspaper service. This was reprinted in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* on May 30th, which even at that was quicker than news had ever before come from Washington to Buffalo.

The telegraph did not figure in the campaign of '44, in which Clay was defeated by Polk, to the bitter disappointment of the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* and many other Whig organs. The earliest newspaper use of the telegraph was the transmission of brief summaries of the action of Congress, and market reports. The wires were extended, in '44 and '45, to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Communication was established between Albany and Buffalo before it was between New York and Albany. The progress of construction across the state was slow, and it was not until Friday, July 3, 1846, that a telegraphic message was received in Buffalo. The *Commercial* of that date thus reports the event:

This morning a little after 8 o'clock, Buffalo called on Albany to know if it was ready to receive a communication; yes, was the prompt answer.

Thus by the enterprise and capital of a few individuals of our own State, and in face of obstacles that none can appreciate but those intimately conversant with all the facts, we are brought face to face, as it were, with the Capitol, and are enabled to know every incident there almost as soon as it occurs. This invention is so amazing and so new that few even realize it, and still fewer, if any, justly estimate the effects it will have upon business and society generally. That it will be immense none can doubt, but we have neither time nor space this morning to follow up the reflections which the theme suggests.

Since writing the above we are gratified to learn that the Telegraph has been in operation most of the forenoon, and has been found to work perfectly, and with as much ease as it does from Albany to Utica, thus demonstrating that it can be extended to any indefinite distance.

The fact that a greater distance did not impair transmission was always a matter of somewhat surprised comment in those days.

Every new town that got the wire was at first in doubt whether messages could reach it as distinctly as though it were nearer the sending-point.

The day after the telegraph was first used in Buffalo was Independence Day; but on this Fourth of July there appears to have been no thought or expression, at any rate in the local celebration, that America was any the richer, or citizenship any more glorious, because of Morse's invention. A revolution, an advance in human progress, had come, but it was dimly seen, feebly understood, and for the most part treated trivially.

On that Fourth of July Buffalo made steamboat excursions on the lake, saw Christy's Minstrels at McArthur's Garden, and attended a tea party at the Orphan Asylum. A few citizens accepted the invitation of Mr. Faxon, president of the telegraph company, to experiment with the new device. The *Commercial* of July 6th gives specimens of that first long-distance conversation in Buffalo.

A message came from Albany: "We have a severe storm this morning, it has now cleared off," followed by the inquiry, "What is the price of corner lots?" to which Buffalo replied: "They have riz—how comes on the bridge?" Messages of like importance were exchanged between Buffalo and Utica, Syracuse and Rochester, and the several cities offered congratulations to Mr. Faxon.

As the line had been extended across the State, Buffalo papers had made use of it. In the spring and summer of '46, New York received news from Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia by wire, though with occasional interruptions. The quickest news-service between New York and Albany was by the Hudson boats, until the middle of August, when telegraphic communication was established. As the line was built westward from Albany, whatever news Albany had was sent to the end of the line and then on by mail; so that, for some time before this momentous July 3d, news—chiefly a brief market report and short messages from Washington—was received by wire at Utica, then at Syracuse, and later at Rochester, to be forwarded as mail by railroad to Buffalo; but on July 7th the *Commercial* had 12 lines of New York market report, received from Albany by wire.

The *Express*, itself but six months old, on this eventful July 3d, complimented Theodore S. Faxon, president of the New York, Albany & Buffalo Telegraph Line, on the achievement of his company. "Hereafter," it promised its readers, "we shall be able to give each day's proceedings of the State Convention in our next morning's paper, and the Southern news by the evening's boat from

New York, as soon as it arrives in Albany, bringing us, in time, just as near the former city as the latter is. This is a wonderful result, so wonderful indeed that we can yet hardly realize it."

The New York boat reached Albany at 5 o'clock in the morning. This made it so late before the telegraphic summary could be received and printed in Buffalo, that the morning papers were issued much later than had been their custom; but the *Express* was no doubt right in saying: "We presume our readers will not be displeased with this arrangement." On the very day of that announcement, July 7th, under the big new heading, "By Telegraph," the news for which the hour of publication had been changed was as follows:

ALBANY, July 7, 1846, 5 o'clock A. M.—The Boat is just in. No news from the South.

The *Express* soon ceased to wait for the Albany boat; but if, after issuing the paper, news of importance came, it sent out an "Extra."

On the completion of the line between New York and Albany, the service was expedited, and Buffalo publishers did not have to wait until after breakfast before printing their papers.

The *Express'* reports of the State Convention at Albany, though brief, were the first telegraphic messages to Buffalo approximating a modern news service.

For some months following the completion of the telegraph to Buffalo, this city was the base, the distributing point, of news for all the vast region to the west, southwest and north of it; so that the *Cincinnati Chronicle* was moved to remark: "It is but a very short time since we received the news from Buffalo by way of New York, and now we receive the news from New York by way of Buffalo!" "This is a sign," commented the *Express*, "a sort of gauge of the great revolution in the transmission of intelligence which is now going on."

For a time, in those first days of telegraphic service, a feature was made of the temperature and general weather conditions in other cities. When a July day gave Buffalo a maximum of 82 degrees, it was most interesting to learn, the following morning, that the thermometer had reached 84 in Rochester and 90 in Syracuse! On July 11th, we read that "from some cause unknown here, the Telegraph has not been in working order east of Utica today, consequently we are without later advices from beyond"—and there was, we may be sure, here and there in the town, triumphant comment of the very wise, that the new-fangled thing was

unreliable, and would never amount to anything. Instruments were crude, and interruptions, especially by thunder storms, were frequent. Wonderful things were reported. During a thunder shower, the lightning was "said to have coursed along the telegraphic wires like a rocket on a line." Among those who declared they saw it was an Irishman, whose explanation was as good as any: "'Och, jabera,' cried Pat, 'that's news iv a battle with the Mexican spalpeens! Anybody can tell that by the blaze and smell of gun-powder!'"

The Mexican war, the great news topic of the year, was little reported by telegraph, for obvious reasons; but the public at large, and newspaper makers in particular, came by degrees to have confidence in and reliance on the telegraph. In those days it was usually called the "Magnetic Telegraph," and for a long time in the press was accorded the dignity of capital initials.

Winter and its storms played havoc with the wires—as they still do. In November, 1846, the *Express* explained the situation:

We are rather short in the article of news at present. The mails drag their slow length along with a regular irregularity that is exceedingly annoying. The lightning line is frozen up, blown down, and useless, and the consequence is that we have been placed back rather abruptly, to the speed of the old "Telegraph" line of stages in the receipt of intelligence. The mail from New York, due day before yesterday, came to hand yesterday, and that of yesterday has not come at all.

An attempt was made to send President Polk's message of Dec. 8, 1846, over the wire to Buffalo. A part of it was received and printed; but connection was suddenly broken, and publication was deferred until the document in full was received by mail.

The story of the extension of telegraphic service west of Buffalo belongs rather to the history of the telegraph than of Buffalo newspapers; but these notes may be extended to include the following editorial from the *Buffalo Morning Express* of December 7, 1848—two and a half years after the first telegraphic service had come to the Buffalo press. The article is headed "The President's Message," and is as follows:

This voluminous document, which nearly fills our paper, has been received word for word and letter for letter, by O'Reilly's Telegraph Line from Baltimore, via Pittsburgh and Cleveland. The achievement, so far as the telegraph is concerned, is a great one, and tests as fully as can be desired its capacity to transmit documents of almost any length with great accuracy and precision. The writing commenced at 6½ o'clock on Tuesday evening, and continued with

brief intermissions, until 5 o'clock this [Thursday] morning—having consumed some *thirty-five hours*. Much less time would have been required but for the unfavorable state of the weather. Messrs. Gibbs and Gorton, the operators at this station, manifested great patience and perseverance, having stood at their posts with the strictest fidelity, and used every exertion within the reach of human effort to accomplish this feat. They are entitled to our acknowledgments for their untiring endeavors to subserve our interests and that of an anxious public, by hurrying forward this prolix document, which, thanks to the progress of time, is Mr. Polk's last.

It was still a good many years to the formation of press associations, in America, which, although of marked influence on the character and fortunes of the local press, hardly need be taken up in the present connection.

It is interesting to trace, by examination of the old papers themselves, the development of the newspaper in Buffalo. The original *Gazette*, the *Niagara Journal* and other sheets of the earliest years, bespeak the primitive conditions of the time. If the typography was poor the paper itself was the old tough—and rough—"rag," the sheets of unequal size and thickness, but with fibre to outlast any modern printing stock.

The art of news-gathering was slow in developing, and a century of Buffalo newspapers shows it in all stages. It is scarcely more than a quarter century since the most up-to-date of the Buffalo dailies still followed, in method and make-up, many of the ways that characterized the press prior, say, to the middle of the last century. It is now no longer primitive; and our dailies, in their bulk, expansion of advertising, specialization of departments, increase of staff and corresponding decrease of personality, bear little resemblance to the newspaper of not very many years ago, when the community opened its morning or evening sheet to read in the leading editorials the personal utterance of a man it knew. Anonymity, always a feature of the business, is much more real now than in those days. Many an able writer gives good years to the service of a paper which never mentions his name. Perhaps there is no reason why it should, since to remain unknown is an understood condition of the employment—except in that other rather modern feature of it, the special signed contribution, sometimes seemingly exploited for the doubtful sake of the signature.

When Buffalo was smaller, and individual acquaintance among representative people was more comprehensive, "the editor" loomed larger in the community than he does now, and the demands which the business made upon him were very different than those made

upon men of equal talent in the same profession today. This point is touched upon by J. N. Larned in his sympathetic sketch of David Gray.¹ Speaking of conditions at the time Mr. Gray began newspaper work in Buffalo—in 1859—Mr. Larned says:

The provincial newspapers of that time had nothing of the "staff" that is busy about them at the present day. A chief editor and his associate, with a reporter of markets, were quite commonly the entire editorial corps. A news reporter, as a distinctly added functionary, had not yet made his appearance among the few servitors of the press in Buffalo—though the date of his advent was not much later than the time here referred to.

The journalism of the city was in that primitive stage when David Gray entered it. Then, and several years afterwards, the large, strong figure of Joseph Warren was often to be seen on the platform at public meetings, taking notes of speeches for next day's print. He shared that kind of labor with his younger assistant, and claimed from the latter more or less of aid in the leader-writing and paragraphing of the editorial page. The two were colleagues, to a considerable extent, in all departments of the newspaper work; and much the same arrangement prevailed in the "staff" of the other city journals. Those were days of hard work in Buffalo journalism, and, generally speaking, of good work. There was an all-round capability demanded and exercised, which the present specializing of tasks is not so well calculated to produce. The newspapers gave less to their readers than they now do; but possibly the readers may have suffered no loss. It is certain that much news was neglected advantageously—with great conservatism of dignity to the newspapers, themselves, and with a benevolent sparing of those who read them.

A considerable chapter might be written on amateur journalism in Buffalo, though the subject hardly demands extended notice here. The various Buffalo publications in this class, so far as they have come to the attention of the compiler, are noted in our list.

The first paper of the sort issued here was the *Spy*, soon renamed the *Journal*, of 1845. In 1846 it became the *Olio*. It is said to have been the third amateur newspaper in America.

These very early journalistic diversions of boys were sporadic, but in 1869-'71 a veritable epidemic of amateur journalism ran through the country. In Buffalo there appeared *The Young American*, by Fred W. Breed and Porter Norton, printed by E. Howard Hutchinson; *Great Expectations*, edited and published by Deahler Welch; and *Our Leisure Moments*, conducted by Albert Ives and Fred Dellenbaugh. (Further note of each of these appears under its

1. "Letters, Poems and selected Prose Writings of David Gray," edited by J. N. Larned, 2 vols. Buffalo, 1888.

title in our list.) The young editors throughout the country developed into an interesting—and somewhat amusing—brotherhood. A national association was formed, and a big convention held in Buffalo, at the Tift House. Many of these editors are living, and some are more or less celebrated as present-day journalists and men of letters.

A still more virulent outbreak of amateur journalism developed in the years 1890 to 1892. In May, 1891, there were 24 periodicals of this class, mostly monthlies, being published in Buffalo, and the Buffalo Amateur Journalists' Club, with a membership of some 40 or more young men and women, was holding enthusiastic weekly meetings, and was proud of being a part of the "National Amateur Press Association." This organization, then 17 years old, held its annual convention in Buffalo, in July, 1892. Shortly thereafter, the craze subsided, and most of the papers and magazines soon disappeared. A few amateur periodicals have appeared here in later years; but the making of newspapers, as a diversion for the young, does not appear to be at present writing, particularly popular. The several excellent school journals now maintained replace—and in most respects are improvements on—the amateur productions of earlier years.

Although the modern newspaper indulges in many things which many people do not esteem as worth while—so many, indeed, that one often wonders that these things are retained, obviously at considerable cost—still, if comparisons are instituted, very much must be said in praise of the newspaper of today. The size of the page is vastly more convenient than was the "blanket sheet" of Civil War times and a decade or so following. The newspaper of today with all its superfluities is better written than in days gone by. Always good in certain instances, and very good under certain gifted hands, the average quality of the press is, we maintain, higher now than in former years. The illustrated press is, practically, wholly a modern development; no comparison is possible with the sporadic use of woodcuts prior to the invention, and now very general use of process engraving.

We here make no attempt to trace the evolution of the local press, or to pay tribute to the men who have made it, save in a few instances, as matter of essential record. The influence of these publications, on the thought, culture, morals and progress of the community, is a theme not here entered upon. Nor is any attempt made to point out the relative degree of political influence exercised, or the part played in local or State politics, by the press of Buffalo. These and other aspects of the subject await the historian for whose convenience we here assemble some of the crude material.

In the following list the date of the first issue of the periodical is given immediately after the title. When this has not been ascertained it is either omitted or stated as *about* ["Ca."] such a time. Little reliance can be placed on the numbering of volumes. Of some papers a year is a volume, of others six or three months. It is purely arbitrary; publishers sometimes jump the number ahead, or even mark a new paper as of an advanced number of volumes, for reasons best known to themselves. Often when a periodical changes hands, the new owner starts a new series number for the volume though the old name is retained. In a few instances we note periodicals with a new name, while the numbering of volumes is continuous from the old series. For example, the first four issues of the quarterly, *The Dental Practitioner and Advertiser*, constitute vol. XXIII., because, of the magazine which it succeeded, there had been 22 volumes.

Periodicals first printed elsewhere have sometimes been moved to Buffalo; or again, those established here have been continued elsewhere. Such changes make it difficult to indicate the full history of many publications. Oftentimes, especially of earlier periodicals, no files are preserved and data are lacking. Many times publications have ceased abruptly, or reappear irregularly. In many cases, especially of minor publications, we can only state that they have existed. Sometimes we have indicated the latest issue known, when a more definite statement of demise was impossible. Newspapers, at any rate in Buffalo, are exceedingly reserved in giving news about other newspapers. The custom may have favor in the eyes of publishers, but it often makes it difficult to ascertain the essential facts about the birth, life and death of a periodical.

And what a graveyard it is! Year after year, periodicals good, bad and indifferent die and are forgotten. Many of them do not deserve remembrance for any merit they possessed or service they rendered. Many others were begun with high hopes and some worthy purpose; most often, no doubt, for the simple business reason of making money; but a perverse public and the necessity of paying the printer and the paper dealer soon laid them low. It is a circumstance not peculiar to Buffalo.

A good many papers have been started in Buffalo during political campaigns. Sometimes the principal purpose of the promoters has been to get as much as possible of the campaign fund of one party or another, making pledge of great political influence in certain districts or among certain classes. This is "easy money," none too strictly accounted for; and the paper finds it necessary to suspend soon after election.

There is only one sort of periodical more ephemeral than these campaign sheets. That is the paper which ostentatiously prints in its first issue: "We are here to stay."

If the character of a community is to be read from its publications, what rating does our list give Buffalo? Over and over again, avowedly "literary" journals and magazines have been started; none of them—in recent years, at any rate—destined to long life. Trade papers have perhaps done better. First and last, well-nigh every trade and industry has had its Buffalo paper; as has every political party, every reform, every Christian sect and creed—and some not Christian; temperance and the liquor interest, faith-healing and free thought, science and art, everything from theology to humor, dogma to doggerel—in many languages, goes to make up the list of Buffalo periodical publications.

Obviously, in a century and more of this work, many able pens have been employed. No attempt is made here at a full catalogue of these writers; it would be impossible to compile, and not particularly useful. Some notes are added, of a few of the men who were really notable in this field, or whose labors and influence were conspicuous in the evolution of the community in which they worked. Our review is of the past; this is not the place to appraise present-day writers.

Our list includes dailies, semi-weeklies, weeklies, monthlies and bi-monthlies, and a few quarterlies. Annuals are excluded. While among them are some school publications which are in a sense periodicals, *e. g.*, *Seminaria* of the Buffalo Seminary, *Iris* of the University of Buffalo, *Verdien* of Nichols School, etc., yet a list of annuals would carry us into the field of institutional and departmental annual reports, obviously not pertaining to our subject. Neither have we included publications of theaters and other amusement places.

Periodicals represented in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society are marked with the asterisk: "*"; those in the Buffalo Public Library with a dagger: "†". Most of the files are incomplete. While the Historical Society collections include very full files of many of the more valuable papers, of others it has but short runs, or even a sample copy. Until recently, little effort was made to preserve minor publications; at present the custom of the institution is to preserve something, if only one copy, of every local periodical procurable.

When several papers have borne the same name, they are listed chronologically. In the alphabetical arrangement the word "Buffalo"—which is a prefix to scores of titles—and the words "daily,"

"weekly," etc., are not used as a guide to classification; otherwise the arrangement is according to the first descriptive word of the title.

It is not claimed that the list is complete, or free from error; but the compiler has taken reasonable pains to make it full and trustworthy. He is especially indebted for assistance to Mr. Frederick J. Shepard, of the Buffalo Public Library; Mr. Ferdinand Magnani, editor of *Il Corriere Italiano*, and Mr. Frank Ruszkiewicz of *Dziennik dla Wszystkich*.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS OF BUFFALO

FROM 1811 TO 1915

* Represented in the Library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

† Represented in the Buffalo Public Library.

†* *Academy Notes*. June, 1905. Monthly, later quarterly. Ill. Published for the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts by the Matthews-Northrup Works. Edited by Chas. M. Kurtz, Director of the Fine Arts Academy until his death, March 21, 1909; since then by his successor, Miss Cornelia B. Sage, and staff.

* *Achievement*. July, 1912. Occasional. "A publication pertaining to men and matters, for newspaper reference." Quarto. Ill. Achievement Publishing Co., 246 Ellicott Square.

* *Ad Club Doings*. 1912. Monthly, by the Buffalo Ad Club, Lafayette Hotel.

* *Ad-Fest Grill*. January 22, 1910. "Vol. 1, only 1." "Published to interest the members of the advertising affiliation." Pp. 2-8 bear the headings of seven of Buffalo's daily newspapers.

† *The Advance*. 1890. Quarterly, amateur. W. H. Boughton, editor, 250 Carolina street.

Daily Advertiser. Published for about six weeks, summer of 1834, by Elijah J. Roberts, then proprietor of the weekly *Buffalo Journal*.

* *The Advocate*. 1850. See *Buffalo Christian Advocate*.

The Advocate. 1909. Weekly, by Ellis Bros. Printing Co., 581 S. Park avenue.

Buffalo Weekly Advertiser. 1895. Weekly, published by Joseph Dodge. A 4-p., 6-col. journal especially devoted to the interests of South Buffalo. Mr. Dodge had previously founded and edited the *South Buffalo Mirror*, q. v.

The Afro-American. 1895. Weekly. Published from an office on Oak street. Further data lacking. Short-lived.

The Age of Progress. 1854. Weekly. Stephen Albro, editor and proprietor. 204 Washington street. Ceased in 1858.

The Agitator. September 16, 1876. Weekly. Founded and edited by George Kittridge, published Saturdays by P. Eby, 336 Washington street. Mr. Eby later bought it. Ceased publication, June, 1878.

* *All Around the World*. Ca. 1862. Juvenile monthly. W. T. Horner, editor and publisher.

Buffalo Allgemeine Zeitung. (Ger.: "General Gazette.") May 17, 1856. Weekly, then semi-weekly. Friedrich Reinecke, editor and proprietor, Genesee Block. Removed to the Baker Block,

Main and Huron streets. It made a special feature of social affairs, at that time usually neglected by the press. In September, 1860, it became the *Freie Presse*, q. v.

Alpha Omega Delta Bulletin. Ca. 1902. Monthly. Henry Jones Mulford, M. D., editor. 152 Park Street. A medical and fraternal journal.

The Buffalo *Amateur*, Ca. 1878. *Amateur*, by Chas. G. Steele.

*The Buffalo *Amateur*. May, 1887. Monthly, amateur, by John J. Ottinger and H. J. Heislein, 466 Clinton street.

Amateur Blade. 1878. *Amateur*.

The *Ambassador*. 1846. Weekly. L. E. Everett, editor. Everett & Hall, publishers. 136 Main street. In the interest of the Universalist denomination. In 1847, removed to Auburn, N. Y.

**América*. Est. 1908, by the América Co., incorporated about Jan. 1, 1908, to publish a general illustrated monthly magazine in Spanish, for circulation in Spanish-speaking countries. Officers of the company, 1908, were: President, W. F. S. Lake; vice-president, George C. Vedder; secretary, E. T. Berry; treasurer, Hugh MacNair Kahler. Mr. Lake was soon succeeded as president by Mr. Vedder. The circulation grew rapidly and it won popularity in Spanish-American countries, as it was attractive in appearance and of good literary quality. Among its contributors were Rafael A. de Zayas, for some years a member of the Mexican Cabinet under Porfirio Diaz; Enrique Rivas y Garcia; Marius de Zayas—noted cartoonist and humorist—and other leading writers of Spain, Mexico and South America. The scope of *América* was general, each issue reviewing interests of the day in letters, art, science, and the industries, but little space being given to fiction. In May, 1909, the company moved their headquarters from Buffalo to New York City, branch offices being maintained in Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Chicago, the Buffalo office remaining in charge of Mr. D. F. Aitken. In the fall of 1911, *América* was combined with *Export-American Industries*, official organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, and is continued as the Spanish edition of that magazine, under the name *América & Industrias Americanas*.

Buffalo *American*. 1842. Weekly, by Thos. Foster and C. F. Butler, 263 Main street. J. C. Bunner, editor. It was designed "for the mechanical and working classes." Continued about one year.

*Buffalo *American*. Oct. 11, 1893. Weekly. Published "every Wednesday noon" by the American Protective Association—the "A. P. A." of temporary fame. Printed by the Enterprise Printing Co., 80-84 Terrace.

*The *American Blacksmith*. 1901. Monthly. Published at 210 Pearl street, later at Main and Goodell streets by the American Blacksmith Co. "A practical journal of blacksmithing." Ill.

†The *American Bookbinder*. Mar., 1891. Every other month, 10 Lock street. With the issue for August, 1894, the name of J. B.

Friedlander appears as editor. In August, 1895, it was changed from 8vo to 4to, and issued monthly.

The American Celt and Catholic Citizen. Brought from Boston, Mass., to Buffalo, June, 1852. "Devoted to Catholic interests and the service of the Irish in America. Weekly (with the approbation of Rt. Rev. Bishop Timon). Washington street, two doors from the post-office." Edited by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, proprietor. On June 1, 1853, it removed to New York City.

There are few names in the history of Buffalo journalism, if indeed any ("Mark Twain" possibly excepted), more famous than that of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, although his residence and work in this city were of short duration. Born in Ireland, in 1825, he had already some reputation as a poet when at 17 he migrated to America. It was in June, 1842, that he arrived in Boston; on the next 4th of July we find him making an ardent Independence-Day speech, which won for him the name of "boy orator." He was soon employed on the *Boston Pilot*, a widely-circulated Irish-American journal; two years later he was its chief editor, a post he held during the "Native-American" excitement of that period, marked by anti-Catholic riots in several cities. McGee won such a reputation as a champion for Ireland, that he was invited by the proprietor of the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* to become its editor. He went back to Ireland, still youthful but famous. He soon changed from the *Freeman* to the *Nation*, which became the fiery mouthpiece of "Young Ireland." What followed is a long story, not to be attempted in these notes. He was one of the "rebels of '48." The "War" party, represented by the *Nation*, seceded from the ranks of the National or Old Ireland party, long and wisely led by the great O'Connell. But the "Liberator" died, famine fell on the land, and the leaders of Young Ireland judged the time ripe for rebellion.

McGee's activities as editor, public speaker and secretary for the "Committee of the Federation," led to his arrest. Being released, he continued his agitation in Scotland, and after a secret return to Ireland to bid good-bye to his young wife, he fled in the disguise of a priest, landing in Philadelphia in October, 1848. He at once began, in New York, the publication of the *New York Nation*. Unwise controversies ended its career in 1850. McGee went to Boston and started the *American Celt*. In June, 1852, the publication office was moved to Buffalo and here Mr. McGee carried on his work for one year. Bishop Timon made his paper the organ of the Buffalo diocese, and through the editor's strong personality the paper won wide recognition as the great champion and advocate of the Irish race in America. McGee had a fine gift of poetry, and many of his popular poems first appeared in the *Celt*. During his Buffalo sojourn he resided on Franklin street near Virginia. In June, 1853, he moved the paper to New York, and varied his editorial work by lecturing throughout the country on "The Catholic History of America," "The Jesuits," "The Reforma-

tion in Ireland," and kindred subjects. To promote the colonization of Irish immigrants in the West he organized the Buffalo Convention, referred to as a "senate," attended by a hundred influential Irish-Americans, lay and clerical. It was held in Buffalo, partly because this city was easy of access from East and West and from Canada, and partly because McGee's residence here had given him a local acquaintance and many friends. It is affirmed by one of McGee's biographers—Mrs. J. Sadlier—that the Canadian delegates to the Buffalo Convention were so impressed by his talents that they induced him to settle in Canada. He sold the *American Celt*, removed to Montreal, and started *The New Era*. This venture failed, but McGee was elected to the Canadian Parliament, and re-elected, his service giving such satisfaction to his countrymen in Canada that in 1865 they bought and presented to him a handsome house, well furnished, in Montreal. His activities were numerous and notable. He served as President of the Executive Council, and as Provincial Secretary; completing at this period his two-volume "History of Ireland."

He revisited Ireland; in 1867 was a Canadian Commissioner to the International Exposition in Paris, visited Rome on a mission for his fellow churchmen, and wrote a series of letters collected under the title "Irish Episodes of Foreign Travel." In London, with other deputies from Canada, he presented to the Imperial Government a plan of union for the Provinces, which led up to Canadian Federation. He became Minister of Agriculture and Emigration, and when the Dominion was established, was offered a portfolio in the Cabinet, but declined. His opposition to the Fenian movement had made for him bitter and desperate enemies. In November, 1867, he took his seat as a member for Montréal in the first Parliament of the Dominion. In April, following, on the street in Ottawa, he was killed by an assassin who, coming behind, shot him through the head.

His activities in life, and his published addresses, poems, historical and miscellaneous writings, all testify to his genius. Probably for no man of editorial connection with the press of Buffalo, can greater distinction be claimed; assuredly none has had a more picturesque career than Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

The *American Columbarian*. 1888. Monthly, by the American Columbarian Publishing Co., over 60 Pearl street. "Devoted to the interests of the Pigeon Fancy." Later at 254 Broadway. Was succeeded in 1891 by *The Fanciers' Exchange*.

†*American Investments and Financial Opinions*. 1889. Discontinued 1906, by sale to *Moody's Magazine*, N. Y. City. Monthly. Published by the Niagara Publishing Co., 202 Main street. The company was composed of Marion J. True, business manager, and Augustus B. Kellogg, editor during the entire sixteen years of publication. "A monthly journal devoted exclusively to the interests of American investors."

**American Poultry World*. 1909. Monthly, by the American Poultry Publishing Co., 158 Pearl street; Grant M. Curtis, president and

editor; A. O. Schilling, vice-president; Wm. C. Denny, secretary-treasurer and associate editor; W. A. Wolford, associate editor. Illustrated 4to, pp. 64, with cover.

The American Miller. 1851. Wm. C. Hughes, ed.

**American Rights*. September, 1854. Weekly. Published by Reese & Co., 5 W. Seneca street. Organ of the American Party. Discontinued, July, 1855.

The American Tanner. 1884. Monthly, by C. A. Wenborne, 13½ Swan street. Ceased about 1886.

**The American Wheelman*. April, 1892. Published every Saturday; D. H. Lewis, proprietor, editor and general manager, 46 Chapin Block. Discontinued, Dec., 1894.

Amerikanische Beobachter. (Ger.: "American Observer.") 1856. Published twice a week by Dr. James B. Colgrove. It supported Millard Fillmore as the American party's candidate for President. An early failure, as the Germans of Buffalo "did not want to be baited by the Know-Nothings."

†*American Wood-worker and Mechanical Journal*. Ca. 1880. Monthly, by Thomas McFaul, 22 West Seneca street. Devoted to interests of saw, lath and shingle mills of the United States. Ceased about 1899.

Thomas McFaul was a native of Picton, Ont., for many years a grain shipper. He followed that business in Chicago, 1860-1875, coming to Buffalo in the latter year. About 1880 he gave up the grain business and established the *American Wood-worker*. He also published the *Lumber World*, and *McFaul's Factory & Dealers' Supply World*, q. v. He retired from active business in 1895 and resided with his daughter, Mrs. Frank S. Holmwood, until his death, September 29, 1915.

**Amerikai Magyar Ujság*. (Hungarian: "American Hungarian Journal.") March 1, 1912. Weekly, Thursdays. Published and edited by Pekaresik & Stulla, who came to Buffalo from Youngstown, O. The paper was advertised as the only Hungarian paper published in Western New York and Canada. In January, 1913, it was sold to the United Printing Co., Youngstown, O., and merged in their *Amerikai Magyar Hirlop*, a Hungarian weekly, of which Dr. L. Fényes is editor-in-chief (1915). A Buffalo office is maintained at 41 Exchange street, B. L. Namenyi, agent.

During its existence in Buffalo, the *Amerikai Magyar Ujság* was the official organ of the Hungarian Reformed church in Buffalo and Tonawanda, the St. Stephen (Ref.) and Greek Catholic Sick Benefit Society of Buffalo, the Hungarian Concordia Aid Society, other church, aid and musical organizations of Buffalo, Tonawanda and Lackawanna; and especially of the Buffalo Branch, Hungarian Reform Federation. It was a well-edited 8-p. journal.

L'Amico del Popolo. (Ital.: "The People's Friend.") Weekly publication first issued June 2, 1897, at 47 Scott street. Sicilo Italianus, editor; Giambruno & Leonevallo, proprietors. It lasted

man, business manager, 3 German Insurance Building. Succeeded by the *Baptist Outlook*, q. v.

- †**The Basis*. 1895. Begun as a weekly, later issued monthly. Printed by S. McGerald & Sons for the Citizens' Publishing Co., Buffalo. "A journal of citizenship." Albion W. Tourgee, editor. Ceased, 1896.

The *Basis* was short-lived, but its standard was high, its purpose worthy and its editor a man of uncommon distinction. Judge Tourgee was of Huguenot blood, though born in Ohio. After a gallant Civil War service—in which he was wounded, and was a prisoner of war—he settled at Greensboro, N. C. He was a member of the commission which codified the law of that State, served as judge of the Superior Court, and combated the Ku-Klux-Klan at the risk of his life. These experiences furnished material for "A Fool's Errand" and others of his many once popular novels. Removing to Denver, he edited the *Times* of that city, 1879-80. In 1881 he became editor of the *Continent*, which ceased in 1884. During these years, and while editing the *Basis* of Buffalo, he resided at Mayville, N. Y., writing for various journals. He was later appointed U. S. Consul at Bordeaux, where he died May 21, 1905. He was one of the most vigorous writers and individual personalities ever connected with the periodical press of Buffalo. One of his biographers compares him "physically and spiritually," to Ernest Renan.

- †**Daily Bazaar*. November 24-29, 1902, for the benefit of the Teachers' Retirement Fund.

Bee and Evening Express. Ca. 1870. Daily. Express Printing Co., publishers.

- **The Ben Franklinite*. January, 1914. "A monthly journal for Vocational School boys." Conducted at the Vocational School of Printing, Michigan and Tupper streets, Buffalo.

**Bethel Flag*. Monthly. Outgrowth of the *Boatman's Magazine and Sailors' Advocate*. later the *Bethel Magazine*, q. v. Under the name *Bethel Flag* it continued until about 1847, when it united with the *Sailors' Magazine*, New York.

- **The Bethel Magazine*. Published under this title for some years, from November, 1835, being a continuation of the *Boatman's Magazine*, q. v.

**Die Bibel Stunde*. (Ger.: "The Bible Hour.") 1909. Quarterly. Edited by Rev. Adolf T. Hanser. Published by the Lutheran Publishing Co., 214 Southampton street; in 1915, at 105 Florida street. An English edition, *The Bible Hour*.

For more than 20 years the Lutheran Publishing Co., of Buffalo has issued church and Sunday-school literature. In 1915 it publishes three periodicals for Lutheran Sunday-schools: *The Bible Hour*, *Crumbs*, and *Lessons*, with German editions. Because of advantageous contracts, the printing is done at Erie, Pa.

- **The Bible Hour*. 1909. Quarterly. Rev. Adolf T. Hanser, editor. "An aid to systematic Bible study for Lutheran Sunday Schools, Young People's societies and Christian homes." The Lutheran

Publishing Co., 214 Southampton street. In 1915, at 105 Florida street. A German edition, "*Die Bibel Stunde*."

**Bike of Buffalo*. December, 1894. Weekly. Published every Saturday by the Bike Publishing Co., J. Robert O'Brien, manager; Thad W. Gardiner, editor. No. 65 Clinton street. "Devoted to the interests of bicycling in its varied branches."

**Black Rock Advocate*. February 11, 1836. Weekly, by D. P. Adams. Dr. M. G. Lewis had editorial charge. Apparently discontinued March 17, 1837.

†**Black Rock Beacon*. December, 1822. Weekly, by Lewis G. Hoffman. Discontinued about September, 1824.

**The Black Rock Enterprise*. March 23, 1893. Weekly. Published Thursdays at 1715 Niagara street by the Black Rock Publishing Co., Alderman W. H. Bradish, manager and editor. Especially devoted to the interests of the 25th Ward. Discontinued, autumn of 1893.

**Black Rock Gazette*. December 21, 1824, by Bartemas Ferguson. Sold in 1825 to S. M. Salisbury. In November, 1827, moved from Black Rock to Buffalo and became the *Buffalo and Black Rock Gazette*. March 19, 1828, Smith M. Salisbury sold out to William P. M. Wood, and publication ceased, subscribers receiving in continuation Mr. Wood's new paper, *The Buffalo Republican*, q. v.

**Black Rock and North Buffalo News*. 1893. Discontinued, 1895. Weekly. Published Saturdays at 103 Bird avenue; later 1715 Niagara street. Edwin Ridley, editor and proprietor.

Black Rock World. Ca. 1892. Amateur.

**The Boatman's Magazine*. 1835. "Published six times a year, by the Sailor's and Boatman's Friend Society." Edited by Rev. Stephen Peet, corresponding secretary. First published, April, 1835, in Cleveland, but with the second issue, June, 1835, printed by Charles Faxon, Buffalo. In August, 1835, its title became as follows:

**The Boatman's Magazine and Sailor's Advocate*. In November, 1835, it became the *Bethel Magazine*, q. v. The first number was issued in Cleveland, but the magazine was transferred to Buffalo, June, 1835, Hiram Pratt being then President and Treasurer of the Sailor's and Boatman's Friend Society, office 226 Main street, over Butler's book store. It was a neat octavo magazine with a green cover and interesting woodcuts; devoted to temperance and the welfare of sailors on the lakes. It later became the *Bethel Flag*, q. v.

Bocian. (Polish: "*Stork*.") 1888. A small eight-page comic paper, edited, illustrated and published by Sigmund Zlupski. Of short career.

†**Bohemia*. September 30, 1882. Weekly. Published Saturdays at 60 Pearl street, by W. S. Bigelow; he withdrew January 6, 1883, and the paper ceased soon after.

†*The Bohemian*. February, 1893, to October, 1893. Nine issues. Monthly, at 186 Fifteenth street. John Reeves Sutton, editor; George D. Sutton, manager art department; George W. Sutton, business manager.

A brightly edited magazine, with good art and literary standards, though in the matter of illustrations its achievements were meager. Several well-known residents of Buffalo were among the contributors, notably James W. Ward, librarian of the Grosvenor Library, whose series, "Historic Landmarks along the Niagara," was illustrated by Amos W. Sangster; Leroy Parker, E. A. Hayes and others.

Bollettino Mensile. (Ital.: "Monthly Bulletin.") Begun, April, 1911, at 43 Fly street, for Mt. Carmel church. A religious publication which lasted seven months.

**The Bowie-knife*. September, 1882. Monthly, amateur, by M. Boe chat, 72 Commercial street; with the October number, M. F. Boe chat and J. J. Ottinger, editors. In December, 1882, it became *The Bowie*.

**The Bowling and Cycling World*. 1896. Weekly. "Devoted to the interests of sports in general and cycling and bowling in particular." Published Saturdays at 1104 Morgan Building; William A. Williams, managing editor.

Boys of Buffalo. January, 1877. Amateur paper conducted by John Fisher.

The Boys' Herald. Ca. 1880. Amateur, by Chas. G. Steele.

**Brass Buttons*. 1904. Monthly, by the Union Terminal Railroad Department, Y. M. C. A., of Buffalo. F. H. Thatcher, editor, 312 Michigan avenue.

Bristol's Gazette and Herald of Health. 1838. Monthly. C. C. Bristol, editor and publisher. In 1840 it appeared as *Bristol's Gazette*, and was discontinued in 1842.

**Brosamen*. (Ger.: "Crumbs.") 1903. Monthly. German edition of *Crumbs*, being lessons for the Primary Department of Lutheran Sunday Schools. Rev. Adolf T. Hanser, pastor. Lutheran Pub. Co., 214 Southampton street; in 1915, at 105 Florida street.

**Browning's Magazine*. A periodical of fashions and fancies. Monthly, by Browning, King & Co., 571-575 Main street. Bears a Buffalo imprint. (Vol. 51, 1915.)

**Bubbles*. January, 1915. Monthly, by the Kinne Laundry Co. "A magazine of cleanliness."

†*The Budget*. 1891. Monthly, amateur; 365 Franklin street.

†*Daily Buffalonian*. On Christmas morning, in 1837, this little sheet made its appearance; weekly, under the auspices of an association of journeymen printers. A little later (winter of 1837-8) it was issued as a daily by F. B. Ward & Co. The anonymous editor was known as George Arlington, probably a pen-name for Thomas L. Nichols. The *Daily Buffalonian* appears to have begun in the spring of 1838. It was the time of the Patriot War, and the paper thrived on excitement and unscrupulous personalities. Nichols left, and started another sheet, the *Mercury* (q. v.).

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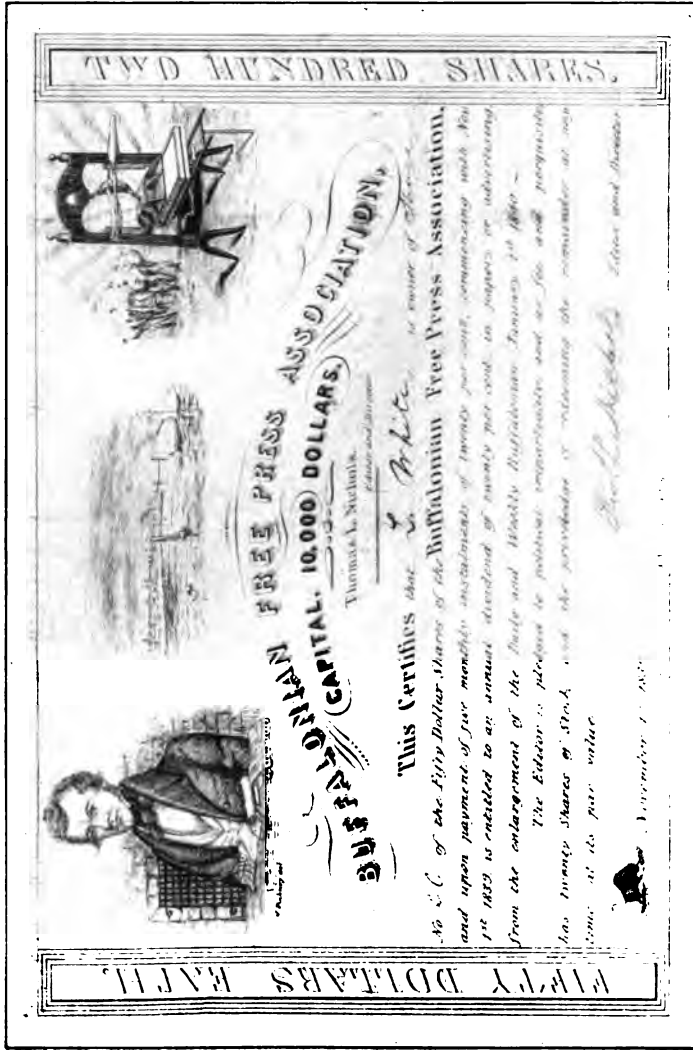
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†The *Budget*. 1891. Monthly, amateur; 365 Franklin street.

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STOCK CERTIFICATE IN THE BUFFALONIAN FREE PRESS ASSOCIATION, 1839
 Facsimile (reduced one-half) from an original in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

As editor of the *Buffalonian* he was succeeded by J. W. Dwinelle, who made it more respectable but less popular. In 1839 it passed to N. R. Stimpson, Charles D. Ferris being its chief writer. On December 11, 1839, David M. Keeler became editor and proprietor of the *Daily Buffalonian*, at which date, under the same name, it appeared as "Vol. I, No. 1." It ceased to be published soon after.

Thomas L. Nichols was something of a figure in his day in Buffalo. A native of New Hampshire, he was 23 years old when he came to this city in the autumn of 1837. He wrote for the *Commercial Advertiser*, over the pen-name of "Walter Arlington," and sent Patriot War news to the New York *Herald*. An early Buffalo pamphlet is his "Address delivered at Niagara Falls on the evening of December 29, 1838, the anniversary of the burning of the *Caroline*" (Buffalo: Charles Faxon, 1839). Too free a pen on the *Buffalonian*, in comments on men and events connected with the arrest and trial of Benjamin Rathbun, resulted in the total wrecking of the office of that paper, by a mob which also planned to tar and feather the editor, but he escaped. In June, 1839, he was arrested for libel, tried and convicted, a part of his sentence being four months in jail. He served his full term in the old jail, on Batavia street (Broadway), meanwhile writing "A Journal in Jail," which was published in Buffalo in 1840; a silly book. On the eve of his release a benefit was given for him at a local theater. The bills and tickets bore pictures of prison bars, and the performance netted over \$1,000. On the day he was set free "a splendid collation" was prepared for him at the old Mansion House, but he says he fled to the woods. He soon organized the Buffalonian Free Press Association, capital \$10,000, himself editor and director. The Buffalo Historical Society owns one of the \$50 stock certificates signed by Nichols and ornamented with his portrait against prison bars; but nothing came of it. Nichols—for "a certain sum of money"—dropped all action against the wreckers of his office, the *Buffalonian* suspended and he left town. He was later employed on a newspaper in Rochester and probably elsewhere, for he roamed far and wide. In 1861 he issued one number of a weekly newspaper in New York "before the attack on Fort Sumter, and when it was hoped and believed peace would be preserved." The war nipped his enterprise in the bud; without issuing a second number he took refuge in England. In London in 1864 he published "Forty Years of American Life," in two volumes; reissued, London, 1874. It contains reminiscences of Buffalo, the Lakes, etc., of some interest.

Charles Albert Willson, who had been a morocco-dresser on Oak street, became employed on the *Buffalonian* in 1838 and from the nature of his work the claim was afterwards made that he was "the first commercial editor" in Buffalo. He later joined the staff of the *Commercial*, and was known around town as "Old Statistics."

*The *Buffalonian*. August, 1892. Monthly. Amateur. G. H. Sellers and T. A. Mitchell, editors and proprietors, 490 West avenue.

- **The Buffalonian*. Ca. 1896. Weekly, by the Buffalonian Publishing Co., 739 Seneca street. "Devoted to the interests of South and East Buffalo."
- †*The Bugle*. November, 1890. Monthly. Amateur. First published by John K. Walker, William H. Walker, Jr., Clarence M. Wheeler and Kneeland Ball, at 298 Pennsylvania street. In 1891, Arthur S. Mann and Emil A. Becker, Jr., were taken in, the office being 358 Delaware avenue. The *Bugle* reached a third volume, 1892.
- Builder and Contractor*. Ca. 1900. Weekly, by Lawrence & Sitterly, 71 West Eagle street.
- †*Buffalo Builder and Real Estate Owner*. Ca. 1885. Weekly.
- **Building and Loan Journal*. 1894. "A monthly publication in the interests of Western New York Building, Loan and Savings Associations." R. Hutchinson, editor and publisher; H. T. Martin, business manager. Office, 41 Franklin street.
- **Buffalo Bulletin*. Founded June 5, 1830, as the *Working Men's Bulletin*, by Horace Steele; December 1, 1830, renamed *Buffalo Bulletin*. Weekly, by Horace Steele. Devoted to the interests of the Workingmen's party. It soon became Democratic, and in 1831 was bought by James Faxon, who engaged Mason Brayman as editor. The *Bulletin* was consolidated, 1835, with the *Republican*, and the *Buffalo Republican and Bulletin* was continued as a weekly, the *Star* as a daily, all under one management. The name "*Bulletin*" disappeared in 1839, when Quartus Graves renamed these papers the *Buffalo Republican*, both weekly and daily. See *Courier*, *Republican*, *Star*.
- **Sunday Bulletin*. 1849. By William F. Rogers, publisher, and Stephen Albro, editor. Continued nine months. The first Sunday newspaper published in Buffalo. Sold at three cents a copy. It was issued from "the Republic Building, Washington street, second door north of the Post Office."
- †**Monthly Bulletin*. January, 1882. Monthly, by the Young Men's Christian Association. Published 50 Clinton street. George W. Luce, business manager, Exchange, corner Wells street. In August, 1882, it became the *Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Bulletin*; in 1887 the heading became *The Bulletin* (new series). John B. Squire and Frank H. Thatcher, editors; later, Frank H. Thatcher, editor and manager. See *Men of Buffalo*.
- **The Weekly Bulletin*. 1896. Advertising sheet published by the Matthews-Northrup Co.
- Monthly Bulletin*. Ca. 1900. Monthly. Issued under the direction of the Executive Committee of the Law League of America. Office, 1086 Ellicott Square.
- †*Monthly Bulletin*. June, 1911. In the interest of Temple Beth-el. Apparently had a brief existence.
- The Bulletin and Review*. 1881. Weekly, by London U. Dodge, until about 1884.
- **Bulletin of the Buffalo General Hospital*. 1911. Monthly.

- †*Bulletin of the Buffalo Naturalists' Field Club*. January, 1883. Monthly or occasional. D. S. Kellicott, a teacher of the State Normal School in Buffalo; Eugene E. Fish, principal of School No. 10; and Mary B. Moody, were the committee on editing and publishing; but the inspiring source of the *Bulletin* was an ardent naturalist, Karl Linden, at that time president of the Field Club.
- †*Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences*. 1873. Quarterly. Hon. George W. Clinton headed the original committee on publication. Since 1907, edited by Henry R. Howland, Supt. of the Society.
- †*The Burges*. Ca. 1911. Monthly. Organ of the Buffalo Canoe Club.
- **Business*. 1914. "Published occasionally." Advertising booklet issued by Henry J. Herbold, 87-91 East Seneca street.
- **The C. M. B. A. Advocate*. 1904. Monthly. Official paper of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association.
- †*The Calendar*. See *The High School Calendar*.
- Sunday Morning Call*. May 8, 1879. Weekly, by William R. Lester & Co., over 194 Main street. Ceased in 1880.
- †*Calvary Sunday School Torch*. January, 1896. Monthly. Official publication of Calvary Presbyterian Sunday School; T. Roberts Andrews, Jr., editor.
- La Campana*. (Ital.: "The Bell.") First issue, January 7, 1905. Weekly. Published by the Benaler Press, 80-84 Terrace. C. Comella, editor and manager. It lasted seven weeks.
- **The Canisius Monthly*. November, 1914. A literary magazine published monthly, except July-September, by the students of Canisius College. Walter J. Abel, editor (1915).
- **Carnival Times*. October, 1874. A four-page paper published under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association during the week of the Authors' Carnival, October 20-28, 1874. Its curious engraved heading was by Wightman. Among the contributors were Miss Annie R. Annan, Mrs. Julia F. Snow, J. N. Larned, David Gray, John G. Milburn, Adolph Duschak.
- **The Car Worker*. 1904. Monthly. Official organ of the International Association of Car Workers. A. T. Fish, editor and manager, 644 Prudential Building. "Devoted to the interests of men employed upon the construction and maintenance of passenger, freight, and electric cars, and roundhouse employees."
- †*The Buffalo Catholic Institute Bulletin*. November, 1896. Continued several years, monthly during the winter, in the interest of the Buffalo Catholic Institute.
- Buffalo Catholic Sentinel*. See *The Sentinel*.
- **Catholic Union*. See *Catholic Union and Times*.
- †*Catholic Union and Times*. Established as the *Buffalo Catholic Union*, April, 1872. Weekly. Published by the Buffalo Catholic

Publication Co., Edmund Burke, editor. Two years later the company bought the *Waterloo Times*, of which Rev. Dr. Lambert was editor, and the two papers were consolidated under the name of *The Catholic Union and Times*, Rev. Patrick Cronin, LL.D., editor. After Dr. Cronin's death, in 1905, no permanent editor was appointed, the editorial matter being contributed by a number of clergymen and laymen, under the supervision of William A. King, the business manager, until his death, October 22, 1914. On November 12, 1914, Archibald McLean was appointed editor, and William P. Kilcawley, business manager.

For 31 years it was the pen of "Father" Cronin—as all Buffalo knew him—that gave this paper life and individuality. Patrick Cronin was born in Ireland in 1835, entered the priesthood, taught rhetoric and *belles lettres* at the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, Suspension Bridge, N. Y., and edited the *Niagara Index*, published at that school. In 1874 Bishop Ryan called him to his life-work on the *Union and Times*.

*The *Buffalo Centinel*. 1839. Weekly; and daily, March, 1840. C. F. S. Thomas and Thomas Newell. Later that year it adopted the following style:

*The *Daily Buffalo Centinel and Log Cabin Herald*. 1840. Daily. C. F. S. Thomas and Thomas Newell, editors and proprietors. A Whig organ. Thomas L. Nichols edited it for a time, as did Henry Reed, Jr. Discontinued after about six months.

†**Central Church Chimes*. 1894. Weekly. Church news and bulletin of services. Central Presbyterian Church. Conducted by Rev. Henry Elliott Mott.

Central Zeitung. (Ger.: "Central Gazette.") 1867. Weekly. Joseph Hogg & Bro., publishers, 247 Batavia street. A Catholic publication, continued in Buffalo about four years. *then continued in New York, where it was published by J. J. Connelley, general secretary, 201 Delaware avenue.*

Chown Education. 1913. Monthly. Published in the interest of the Chown School of Business, 534-45 Ellicott Square. 8 pp., ill.

**The Church Bulletin*. 1909. Weekly, by the First Presbyterian Church, Rev. William H. Boocock, editor.

†**Buffalo Christian Advocate*. January 1, 1850. Founded by Rev. John E. Robie. Published in the Exchange Buildings, No. 158 Main street. With Vol. 2, 1851, a new heading was used, the name continuing *Buffalo Christian Advocate* until about 1858, when it was changed to *The Advocate*. The paper was enlarged, January, 1854. About 1862 it was renamed *The Christian Advocate*, W. H. DePuy, editor. In 1863, L. S. Church was publisher. The next year it again became *Buffalo Christian Advocate*, published by Rev. John E. Robie, and Rev. Albert B. Wilbor. Most of its editors were ministers, members of the Genesee Conference. Besides those named, the Revs. Sandford Halbert, S. A. Morse, G. C. Jones, G. W. Peck and C. W. Winchester had editorial connection with the paper prior to 1885. The office for many years was in Brown's Building at Main and Seneca streets. In 1870, Robie & Ripley were proprietors; 1872 to 1874, it was published by Ripley, Morse & Co.; 1875 to 1881, by A. P. Ripley & Co.; 1882, Miller & Ferrin; 1883, L. C. Miller; 1884, Henry A. Townsend. In 1885 John E. Rebstock became the publisher and Rev. Samuel McGerald edited the paper for one year while serving as pastor at Tonawanda. The office was moved to 41-43 Franklin street. Complying with a request of the Genesee Conference, Bishop John F. Hurst appointed Mr. McGerald as editor of the *Advocate*, the first official recognition accorded the paper. Soon after, Mr. McGerald became proprietor and his son, A. D. McGerald, manager. Under their control it was claimed that the *Advocate* had the largest circulation of any Methodist paper in America, owned and controlled as an individual enterprise. On March 1, 1895, the name was changed to *The Christian Uplook*, q. v.

Christian Baptist. February, 1824. Monthly, by Campbell & Sala, at \$1 per year. An 8vo, 24 pages to the issue, devoted to religious essays and the interests of the Baptist church. Under date of June 3, 1825, the publishers say: "We are much embarrassed at this time in raising funds to pay for paper, ink, workmen," etc.—an appeal not uncommon in those days. The magazine was probably not of long continuance. The only copy noted is in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society, at Cleveland, which has Vol. II., August 2, 1824, to January 3, 1825.

**The Christian Sower*. Published in the interest of the Jefferson street Church of Christ; succeeded by *Our Church Record*, q. v.

**The Christian Uplook*. March 1, 1895. Weekly, by the McGerald Publishing Co., 457-459 Washington street. Succeeded the *Buffalo Christian Advocate*. Discontinued, 1903.

**Die Christliche Woche*. (Ger.: "The Christian Week.") 1873. Weekly. Rev. Jos. M. Sorg, editor and proprietor, 35 Edward street. Later by the Buffalo German Catholic Orphan Asylum. Editor's office, 46 Broadway. In 1900, merged with *Aurora*, q. v.

Der Christlicher Familienfreund. (Ger.: "The Christian Family Friend.") Ca. 1897. Monthly, at 483 Washington street.

**The Buffalo Sunday Chronicle.* Ca. 1888. Weekly. Lansittel & Wagner, editors and proprietors, 473 William street.

†*Buffalo Chronicle.* December, 1903. Every Saturday. Edited and published by Edwin Fleming, 222 Ellicott Square. The *Chronicle* succeeded *Commerce*, which in turn was the successor of *Greater Buffalo*. Ceased May, 1905.

†*The Church Home Quarterly.* 1881. Quarterly, by the Church Home Charity Foundation. Miss C. E. White, editress, 752 Niagara street. Later by Mrs. John Rice, 45 North Pearl street.

The Church Messenger. 1888-9. Monthly. Official organ of the Diocese of Western New York (Protestant-Episcopal), under the direction of Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Cox. Published by the Lakeside Publishing Co.

**The Church Mirror.* 1895. Data lacking.

The Church Monthly. Ca. 1900. Monthly. Mrs. P. E. Gridley, publisher and manager, 43 Niagara street.

†*Church Voice.* November, 1887. Monthly, in the interest of the Church of Christ (Disciples). Discontinued October, 1888.

**The Church Voice.* Ca. 1899. Weekly. M. P. Russell, business manager, 1249 Niagara Street. Published by C. B. Russell, 1-5 Franklin street, for the West Avenue Presbyterian church.

†*Church Work.* December 1, 1898. Semi-monthly. Rev. Warren Watson Walsh, editor, 457-459 Washington street. Official paper of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York.

Cigar Makers' Official Journal. Monthly. Founded in New York City about 1874; moved to Buffalo, February, 1886, and to Chicago, January, 1893.

†*The Citizen.* May, 1906. Monthly, by the Municipal League, 301 Ellicott Square. Robert S. Binkerd, editor. The issues for September, October and November, 1906, were combined in one "special number," devoted to the city and county election of that date. Ceased soon after.

City News and Weekly Price Current. 1867. Weekly. Express Printing Co., publishers, 4 East Swan street. Ceased in 1868.

The Civic Forum. November, 1911. Bi-monthly. "An exponent of political, social and moral ideals." Official organ of the Order of Civic Guards. 8vo. F. H. Dirstine, editor and proprietor, 843 Ellicott Square. Dewitt C. Tremaine, editor.

**Clean Clothes.* 1915. Monthly. "An illustrated magazine devoted to cleanliness, sanitation, and sound textiles," published by Central Star Laundry, Buffalo.

**A Clean Sweep.* October 27, 1913. "A paper for the citizens and by the citizens." A campaign sheet (pp. 4) of few issues in the interest of the Citizens' ticket, headed by John Lord O'Brian for Mayor.

- †The *Clinton Herald*. April, 1892. Monthly, amateur, by Charles W. Kenney, 486 Fargo avenue. "Official organ of the Clinton Debating and Literary Society."
- *The *Buffalo Clipper*. 1895. Weekly. "In the interest of Greater Buffalo." Compiled by Ansley D. White, 701 Morgan Building.
- **Cold Spring Advertiser*. 1906. Weekly. Issued Wednesdays "in the interests of Cold Spring and vicinity," by Alf. E. Tovey. John Kemble, editor and manager. Office 1300 Jefferson street.
- Cold Spring Journal*. 1892. Weekly. Issued Saturdays by W. G. Webster.
- †The *Collector and Exchange*. August 1, 1888. Semi-monthly. H. S. Pickett & Co., editors and publishers; E. S. A. McLeod, business manager, 115 Tenth street. Devoted to stamps, coins, etc.
- College Forum*. 1902. Bi-monthly, at 680 Main street, by the Alumni Ass'n, Dental Department, University of Buffalo. J. W. Beach, editor. It became *The Dental Forum*.
- *The *Columbian Monthly*. 1893. Monthly. An illustrated family magazine published by Garretson, Cox & Co. 365 Seventh street. Sworn circulation (1894) 25,000.
- †**Commerce*. Lake, rail, canal. April, 1903. Monthly, by the Commerce Publishing Co., 43 Board of Trade. Howard J. Smith, editor. Continued as *Commerce* until Jan. 1904, when it was sold to Edwin Fleming, and merged in his *Buffalo Chronicle*, as organ of the Chamber of Commerce.
- †*The *Daily Commercial Advertiser*. Jan. 1, 1835, and published continuously since. Originally issued from the office of the *Buffalo Patriot*, "by H. A. Salisbury, Printer to the City." But B. A. Manchester was its printer from the first, and Guy H. Salisbury was its original editor. Dr. T. M. Foote and B. A. Manchester became associated in the management of the two papers; and in August, 1838, the *Aurora Standard* was merged in them, and A. M. Clapp, its publisher, became one of the proprietors of the joint property. In May, 1839, they were united with the *Buffalo Journal*, and the weekly was published as the *Patriot and Journal* (q. v.). The daily appeared as the *Commercial Advertiser and Journal* (q. v.) by E. R. Jewett & Co. The following year the daily appeared as the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*. These names were retained for many years, under the editorial conduct of Dr. S. B. Hunt. In 1856, a semi-weekly *Commercial Advertiser* was established. In April, 1861, Mr. Jewett sold the *Commercial Advertiser* and the weekly *Patriot and Journal* to R. Wheeler & Co.. A business embarrassment followed and Mr. Jewett found himself again the owner of the property. The *Commercial* entered upon a new era in 1877 when James D. Warren became sole owner. For many years his local leadership in the Republican party gave his paper special influence and recognition. Since Mr. Warren's death, Dec. 17, 1886, the paper has been conducted by his sons, O. G. Warren (died May 6, 1892,) and Wm. C. Warren.

Of the many capable writers whose work has gone to the making of the *Commercial Advertiser*, these 70 years past, note should at least be made of two or three of the strong men of the earlier days.

Bradford A. Manchester came to Buffalo, a penniless orphan, in 1831. Hezekiah Salisbury found work for him in the office of the *Buffalo Patriot*. He proved so apt an apprentice that on January 1, 1835, when the daily *Commercial Advertiser* was started, he was made foreman of that office. A year later he became a partner of Mr. Salisbury. July 1, 1836, Mr. Salisbury withdrew and Mr. Manchester, Thomas M. Foote, and Guy H. Salisbury became the proprietors of the *Commercial*, and so continued until September, 1838, when Mr. Manchester withdrew. In February, 1843, he began the publication of the *Buffalo Gazette* as an Administration paper, discontinuing it after two years. In 1846, he established the *National Pilot*, which was merged with the *Buffalo Courier* July 1, 1846. Mr. Manchester continued as proprietor of that paper for a year or two, then relinquished journalism to engage in other business. In his later years he was a banker. He is remembered as a man of uncommon attainments, largely self-taught, an accomplished linguist, one of Buffalo's most capable and public-spirited citizens of his time.

A very prominent figure in earlier Buffalo journalism was Calvin Frederick St. John Thomas. A native of New York City, where he was born in 1808, he had published a country newspaper prior to coming to Buffalo in 1833 or '34, about which time we find him in the employ of Oliver G. Steele. He later set up a job printing office, and in 1844 merged his interests in the firm of Jewett, Thomas & Co. In 1855, with Solon H. and J. H. Lathrop, Mr. Thomas acquired proprietorship of the *Commercial Advertiser*. In 1857, that property again passed into the hands of E. R. Jewett & Co., Mr. Thomas continuing as superintendent. Other changes followed and in 1869 he removed from Buffalo.

His local distinction was not only in the field of journalism, but in music as well. He was long prominent in local musical circles, and his agreeable papers, entitled "Musical Reminiscences by a Veteran Amateur," are preserved in the old files of the *Commercial Advertiser*.

Thomas M. Foote was for many years prominently identified with the interests of Buffalo, and in some degree with the affairs of the State and nation. A physician by profession, he early abandoned medicine for journalism. Coming to Buffalo about 1835, being then 24 years old, he was given editorial management of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, then owned by Messrs. Hezekiah A. Salisbury and B. A. Manchester. Later in that year, Mr. Salisbury withdrew and Dr. Foote and Guy H. Salisbury became joint proprietors with Mr. Manchester, and associate editors. From that time until his death, February 20, 1858, with but one or two brief intervals, Dr. Foote was the editorial head of the *Commercial* and the ablest figure of his

day in journalistic life in Buffalo. For many years, the warm personal friend of Mr. Fillmore, it was not surprising that in 1849, when Mr. Fillmore became vice-president, Dr. Foote should have been favorably considered for diplomatic appointment. President Taylor made him *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at Bogata, and in 1850, Mr. Fillmore having succeeded to the Presidency, appointed him to a similar office at the Court of Vienna. These are the only Federal offices he ever held, Mr. Fillmore's earlier efforts to have him appointed postmaster of Buffalo coming to naught. On the accession of President Pierce, Dr. Foote resigned, and returning to Buffalo resumed his editorial and proprietary connection with the *Commercial*. In 1855, with his partner of many years, the Hon. Elam R. Jewett, he disposed of his newspaper interests and with Mr. Jewett made a tour of Europe. On this visit they met Mr. Fillmore and appear to have traveled with him for a time. Returning to Buffalo in 1856, Dr. Foote for a short period resumed editorial work, his career being ended by a paralytic attack, which resulted in his death on the date named. That he was a scholarly, able writer, adroit in argument as he was keen and vigorous in his style, an examination of the editorial columns of the *Commercial Advertiser* throughout the many years of his activity will attest.

For many years James Albro (died Sept. 17, 1899) was city editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*; while holding this post, he made two balloon voyages with "Prof." Samuel A. King, most noted aeronaut of his time. Mr. Albro later was telegraph editor, retiring from the *Commercial* about 1889. Arthur W. Austin served the same paper for 40 years, beginning as news-boy; for 17 years he was city editor, becoming editor-in-chief, which post he held at the time of his death, Jan. 5, 1913. On Aug. 25, 1915, occurred the death of Wm. Edward Foster, who had ably served the *Commercial*, most of the time as managing editor from 1870 until ill health compelled his retirement in 1911.

†**Commercial Report and Market Review*. July 19, 1869. Daily or weekly. Published by William Thurston, and commonly called by its sub-title, "Board of Trade Report." The title is sometimes "Daily," but not after April 30, 1874; sometimes "Weekly"; often neither word is used.

†The *Convention Herald*. Jan. 1905. Monthly. "Published for the information of prospective visitors to Buffalo and Niagara Falls." A. E. Howe, publisher, Richmond C. Hill, editor; 502 Morgan Bldg. A 24-p., illustrated magazine, with cover.

Common Sense. 1850. Published by D. P. Stile. Further data lacking.

†The *Connoisseur*. April, 1892. Monthly, amateur, H. E. Montgomery, editor, S. H. Stilling, manager; 949 Delaware avenue.

*The *Coöperative Magazine*. April, 1912. Monthly. E. D. Matteson, publisher. S. G. Sherwood, editor; succeeded, 1913, by Henry W. Spahn; published at 107 S. Division street. The Consumers Coöperative Trading Ass'n, proprietors. "Devoted to the prin-

ciple of coöperation, and the development of its benefits and usefulness." In the fall of 1913 it changed from 8vo to 4to form, and was soon after discontinued.

**The Co-opt-or*. 1913. Advertising pamphlet issued occasionally by Pratt & Lambert, Tonawanda street.

**Il Corriere*. (Ital.: "The Courier.") April 2, 1898. Semi-weekly, 4to, by Aristide Martinelli, 73 Seneca street. He resigned in August, 1898. Continued by Dr. B. Calabrese and others; published at 16½ E. Seneca street. On September 5 was incorporated "Il Corriere Italiano Publishing Co," and the name of the paper became *Il Corriere Italiano*, q. v.

**Il Corriere Italiano*. (Ital. "The Italian Courier.") 1898, in continuation of *Il Corriere*. Published weekly at 131 Broadway; Ferdinando Magnani, editor; F. E. Onetto, manager. Later, published by *Il Corriere Pub. Co.*, 15 Franklin street, Jos. J. Lunglino, president, and F. Magnani, editor.

**The Countersign*. 1893. Monthly. 4to. Published on the 15th of each month by the Countersign Publishing Co., 72 Agency Bldg., Niagara street. Lieut. George T. Bowman, manager. A military journal devoted to the interests of the National Guard.

The Countryside. Ca. 1888. Monthly, by L. H. Ellison & Co., 41-43 Franklin street. "Devoted to country homes, work and schools."

†*The Courant*. Nov. 13, 1895. Monthly. Published every fourth Wednesday of the school year by the Beta Nu Sigma Fraternity, in the interests of the Buffalo Night High School. Samuel J. Harris, editor.

†*Buffalo Courier*. Mornings. Wm. J. Conners, proprietor.

This paper has evolved from the *Western Star*, Buffalo's first daily newspaper, established July 21, 1834; and other papers. The principal changes in the evolution are here briefly indicated. A more extended record is to be found in the *Courier*, Jan. 7, 1885.

The *Buffalo Bulletin* was established, spring of 1830, by Horace Steele, in the interests of the Workingman's party. It soon advocated Democratic principles, and in 1831 was bought by James Faxon; he made Mason Brayman its editor. On July 21, 1834, Faxon issued the *Western Star*, first daily in Buffalo. In 1835 the *Star*, the *Bulletin* and the *Republican* were brought under one ownership. See "The Buffalo Republican." October 1, 1842, Joseph Stringham became editor and proprietor of these journals, and later renamed them, the *Daily Mercantile Courier and Democratic Economist* and the *Weekly Economist*. On July 1, 1846, the *Daily National Pilot* (q. v.) was absorbed, the style of the paper becoming *Courier & Pilot*. The ownership passed, November, 1846, to Manchester & Co., Guy H. Salisbury being associated with Mason Brayman in the editorial work. Weekly and tri-weekly editions were established. In 1848 the *Courier* was bought by Wm. A. Seaver and Robert D. Foy, and moved from 12 Exchange street to 206 Washington street. In 1849 the office was in Spaulding's Exchange; in 1851

it again moved to West Seneca street, first door from Main; in 1852, to No. 7 West Seneca street. October 16, 1854, Joseph Warren first came into the employ of the *Courier*. In 1859 he became joint proprietor with Gilbert H. Harroun and Jas. H. Sanford, the latter having bought an interest in 1847. Mr. Warren's connection with the paper continued until his death, September 30, 1876. Wm. G. Fargo succeeded him as president of the *Courier Co.*, and was succeeded March 3, 1880, by Charles W. McCune, who in 1883 became sole proprietor. David Gray was for some years managing editor, succeeding Mr. Warren in 1876, retiring in 1882, and succeeded by Joseph O'Connor, whose connection with the paper began in 1879. (For a detailed history of the *Courier* under Mr. McCune's ownership and management, see the *Courier*, Jan. 7, 1885.)

In Jan. 1843, the title was shortened by dropping the prefix "Daily." Soon after, an extra containing a message of the Governor was issued under the heading "*Buffalo Courier extra*"; and on March 31, 1845, the regular issue appeared as the *Buffalo Courier*.

The *Sunday Courier* was established Jan. 3, 1875.

On May 9, 1897, W. J. Conners bought the *Courier*, and on May 10 the paper appeared as the *Courier-Record*, this being soon changed to *Buffalo Courier*.

Of the many able men who have made the *Courier* in years past, Joseph Warren merits precedence. A native of Vermont, he had finished a university course, taught Greek and Latin, and had experience in journalism before he came to Buffalo in 1854 to become local editor of the *Courier*. In 1858 he bought an interest, increased under subsequent reorganizations. Jan. 1, 1869, the *Courier Co.* was formed, Mr. Warren being its president, and continuing as editor-in-chief of the paper, until his death. In the meantime he had served as Superintendent of Schools for Buffalo, and had become the recognized leader of the Democratic party in Western New York. Very many local interests were promoted by him; and his paper was given a strength, influence and standing it had never before possessed.

David Gray, poet and essayist of rare refinement, gave the best working years of his life to the *Courier*. His connection with the paper began in 1859, as commercial reporter; in 1860, he was made associate (or city) editor and about that time acquired a quarter interest in the property. On Joseph Warren's death in 1876, Mr. Gray became editor-in-chief, in which office he served until his health failed. He sold his interest in the paper in 1884, his death occurring in 1887.

Another *Courier* man, notable in his day, was Thomas Kean, for many years city editor and dramatic critic. For a time he edited *Sunday Truth*, and was managing editor of the *Republic* under the ownership of Chas. W. McCune. Mr. Kean was the author of at least one successful play—acted by Fritz Emmet. He died May 7, 1888.

No abler pen was ever engaged in the service of the *Courier* than that of Joseph O'Connor, who came to that paper in Decem-

ber, 1879, and became editor, from David Gray's retirement, continuing to 1895. After withdrawing from the *Courier* he returned to Rochester, his former home, where for some years he edited the *Post-Express*. In 1895-'96 he edited the *Buffalo Enquirer*, withdrawing in the last-named year. He was a writer of extraordinary versatility, and with a poetic gift unsurpassed by any one connected with Buffalo journalism. His death occurred in Rochester, October 9, 1908.

The *Buffalo Courier and Economist*. Feb., 1843, succeeding the *Mercantile Courier and Democratic Economist*. In March, 1843, it became the *Buffalo Courier*. q. v.

†The *Courier and Pilot*. July 1, 1846. Daily, tri-weekly and weekly. Guy H. Salisbury became editor, Nov., 1846. The union of the *Courier* and the *Pilot* in Dec., 1846, became the *Buffalo Courier*, q. v.

†**Buffalo Courier-Record*. See *Buffalo Courier*.

Evening Courier & Republic. Daily, 1862 to about 1875. Jos. Warren & Co., publishers.

**Cradle Bank News*. Aug. 1, 1889. Weekly, or occasional, in the interest of the Buffalo Fresh Air Mission. W. H. Wright, Jr., 70 Ellicott street, publisher and chairman of the fund. Succeeded by The *Fresh Air Mission Record*, q. v.

†The *Crescent*. 1891. Monthly, amateur. Chas. H. Williams and Chas. M. Peabody, editors and proprietors, 121 N. Pearl street. In 1892, merged with the *Sun* in the *Sun-Crescent*.

**Crippled Children's Herald*. 1911. Monthly. Published by the Crippled Children's Guild, 487 Niagara street, or 44 Palace Arcade.

Sunday Critic. March 15, 1863. Weekly, by Squibb & Enright, over 150 Main street.

**Crumbs*. 1903. Bi-monthly. Lessons for the Primary Department of Lutheran Sunday schools. Rev. Adolf T. Hanser, pastor. Lutheran Pub. Co., 214 Southampton street. In 1915, at 105 Florida street.

†**Current History*. See "*The Cyclopedic Review of Current History*."

**Current Talk*. 1904. Monthly. "A publication devoted to things electrical," published by the Buffalo General Electric Co.

*The *Cycle Record*. 1893. Weekly. Dai H. Lewis, manager. In Sept., 1894, publication in Buffalo ceased, it being merged with The *Referee* in Chicago.

*The *Cycling World*. 1895. Weekly. Devoted to cycling, bowling and general sport.

*The *Cyclopedic Review of Current History*. 1891. Quarterly. Published by Garretson, Cox & Co.; Alfred S. Johnson, editor.

Daily Bread. 1897. Weekly, by the Daily Bread Publishing Co., 928 West avenue.

**Day and Night*. July, 1914. Monthly. Issued in the interest of the publishers by R. H. Connor & Co., printers, 246-252 Michigan avenue.

The *Buffalo Deaconess*. 1896. Quarterly. First published by S. McGerald & Son., 457-459 Washington street. Devoted to the interests of the Deaconess Home.

*The *Buffalo Delt.* Feb., 1913. Published monthly by the Buffalo Alumni Chapter of Delta Chi, Buffalo. Office, 325 Bryant street.

†*The *Democracy*. May, 1854. Daily and weekly, started by Samuel Wilkeson, at Main and Hanover streets. Mr. Wilkeson, Geo. W. Haskins, H. L. Rann, and others, were engaged on it. That year *Rough Notes* was merged in it; and in Aug., 1855, the *Democracy* was united with the *Express*, *q. v.*

**Democratic Economist*. Successor, January 1, 1842, of the *Republican*, *q. v.* Published at 146 Main street, "City Bank Building, upstairs." It was owned by Henry Burwell, edited by Henry White. Sold to Jos. Stringham, Oct. 1, 1842. See *Mercantile Courier*, and *Courier*.

†**Buffalo Demokrat*. (Ger.: "Buffalo Democrat.") 1850. Weekly. The *Freie Demokrat*, started 1848 by Karl Esslinger, was bought in 1850 by Jacob Knapp and Dr. Carl de Haas, and renamed the *Buffalo Demokrat*. It was at that time published Thursdays, at 384 Main street, de Haas being the editor. In November, 1850, Knapp sold his interest to Friedrich Held, who soon established the daily *Demokrat*. In April, 1853, the *Weltbürger* was united with the *Demokrat*, continuing as its weekly edition, under management of Brunck, Held & Co. De Haas retired in 1859, Brunck in 1875, and Friedrich Held continued as sole proprietor until his death, March 6, 1885. For a time his widow was the publisher, succeeded as proprietor and publisher by her son, Frank C. B. Held.

†The *Dental Advertiser*. August, 1869. Quarterly. Conducted for 22 years by Theo. G. Lewis, D. D. S. Published by the Buffalo Dental Mfg. Co., 50 cents per year. On Dr. Lewis' retirement it was continued as *The Dental Practitioner and Advertiser*, *q. v.*

*The *Dental Forum*. 1902. Semi-monthly, later quarterly by the Alumni Ass'n, Dental Department, University of Buffalo. J. W. Beach, editor, 680 Main street. Later, J. O. McCall and associates, 25 Goodrich street.

†The *Dental Practitioner and Advertiser*. 1892, succeeding the *Dental Advertiser*. Quarterly, by the Buffalo Dental Mfg. Co., W. C. Barrett, editor. In 1898, a department was established styled "The Investigator," devoted to the Dental Department, University of Buffalo. Discontinued, Oct., 1898.

Department Store Review. 1906. Monthly, by the Department Store Review Publishing Co., Lewis Block.

Deutsches Volksblatt. (Ger.: "German People's Paper.") 1878. Weekly. Published by Revs. C. Schild and G. Berner, 200 Main

street. Daily and weekly, from 1897, by the Volksblatt Pub. Co., 548 Washington street.

**Les Deux Mondes*. (Fr.: "The Two Worlds.") July, 1883. Weekly. Published Saturdays at Hersee Hall, 587 Main street. A 16-p. quarto of excellent literary quality, but short-lived.

**Diakonissenfreund*. (Ger.: "Deaconesses' Friend.") April, 1900. Monthly by Dr. Otto Becher, 622 Oak street. In the interest of the Association for Deaconess work in Buffalo.

Dick's Patent Expositor. Ca. 1873. Quarterly. Rev. Robert Dick, publisher. An advertising sheet.

**Direct Advertising and House Organ Review*, 1914. Quarterly or occasional. Edited by Brad Stephens; published by the Buffalo Graphic Arts Ass'n, 724 Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo. Printed in Boston, Mass.

†*Buffalo Daily Dispatch and Evening Post*. Daily. Thos. Dickinson, proprietor, 208 Washington street; P. P. Josef, publisher. Discontinued May 18, 1878. Towards the end of its career, Geo. W. Sweet, manager.

Djabel. (Polish: "Devil.") 1896. An illustrated periodical (weekly) with the so-called motto: "I am the Devil, who the devil are you?" This paper moved to Buffalo from Chicago, but its career here ceased after some four months when its editor, Stanislaus Segers, committed suicide.

Drift. 1888. Monthly, ill., by the Drift Publishing Co., 194 Main street.

†*Buffalo Druggist*. 1895-97. Monthly. By the Buffalo Druggist Publishing Co., 483 Washington street. In 1897 succeeded by *The Northern Druggist*, q. v.

**The D'Youville Magazine*. 1909. Quarterly, by the students of D'Youville College.

**Dziennik dla Wszystkich*. (Polish: "Everybody's Daily.") Mch. 8, 1908. Daily and Sunday, by Everybody's Daily Pub. Co., 559 Fillmore avenue. Frank Ruszkiewicz, president. Later at 928 Broadway. Established as *Polak w Amerykaniski*, but name soon changed as above.

Dzwon. (Polish: "Bell.") 1886. Semi-monthly, illustrated. Conducted by Rev. Antony Klawiter. In reduced form became *Dzwonek*, q. v.

Dzwonek. (Polish: "Little Bell.") 1893. Succeeded *Dzwon*; carried on by Rev. Anthony Klawiter. Short lived.

†*The Earnest Christian*. 1856. Monthly, by Benjamin T. Roberts, A. M. The title was changed in an early issue to the following:

†*The Earnest Christian and Golden Rule*. Ca. 1857. Monthly. B. T. Roberts, editor; D. F. Newton, corres. editor; printed by Clapp, Matthews & Waite, office of *The Express*. "Devoted to the promotion of experimental and practical piety." Valuable for history of local Methodist churches. (Vol. VII, 1864.)

- **East Buffalo News*. 1894. Weekly. Published Saturdays by the Acme Printing Co., 627 Walden avenue.
- **East Church Record*. 1892. Quarterly. Founded by George Pratt Fairbairn. Devoted to the interests of the East Presbyterian church; published under direction of the Session, at No. 451 Eagle street. Issued quarterly until 1898, then occasionally; discontinued 1912. Mr. Fairbairn was a printer for some years employed by the *Commercial Advertiser*, and was active as a Sunday-school worker. He died April 8, 1895.
- East Side Chronicle*. 1892. Weekly. Julius A. Deck, editor and proprietor, 473 William street. Later, Landsittel & Wagner.
- **The East Side News*. 1908. Weekly. Issued Wednesdays by the East Side News Pub. Co., 301 Broadway. Max T. Dowdall, manager.
- The Eastern Contractor*. July, 1893. Monthly, by the Eastern Contractor Publishing Co., 73 W. Eagle street. The company included Angus D. McConnell, Carrie M. McConnell, Frank M. Chapin and Eleanor M. McConnell. In 1894 it appeared as a weekly, by A. D. McConnell, 1715 Niagara street.
- **Echo*. (Polish: "Echo.") 1888-1901. Weekly. M. J. Sadowski, editor and publisher, 932 Broadway.
The editor was a scholarly man, and built up a wide circulation for the *Echo*, which for a time was perhaps the leading political Polish weekly in America. Mr. Sadowski died in March, 1901.
- **The Echo*. Feb. 4, 1915. Weekly, Thursdays, in the interest of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum of Buffalo. Rev. Geo. J. Weber, president; Jos. M. Schifferli, manager; Chas. A. Zenkert, editor, 564 Dodge street.
"For more than 60 years, the *Aurora und Christliche Woche*, published by the G. R. C. Orphan Asylum of Buffalo, has ranked among the foremost German-Catholic journals in the United States. The *Echo* is a weekly Catholic newspaper published for such as cannot read the German *Aurora*."—Introductory Announcement.
- **The Weekly Economist*. 1842. Weekly, Wednesdays, by J. Stringham, 146 Main street. Later, H. White, editor. Continued to about 1848. At first the weekly edition of the daily *Mercantile Courier*, it later was the weekly edition of the *Courier*, q. v.
The *Economist* was the successor of the *Star*, which was sold to Theodotus Burwell in 1842 and renamed. In 1843 the daily issue was started as the *Mercantile Courier and Daily Economist*.
- †*The Educator*. 1889. Monthly. W. Hazelton Smith, editor. Published by the Courier Co. "Devoted to the education of young men and women in current history, current science and current literature." Later, from about 1905, issued from 102 Seneca street, "devoted to the interests of teachers and students."
- Edwards Monthly*. Ca. 1909. Monthly, at 16 E. Seneca street. In 1911, 342 Genesee street.

- The Emmanuel.* 1900. Monthly, by the Emmanuel Literary Circle, 457 Washington street. Creighton R. Story, editor, 323 Normal avenue.
- **The Emmanuelist Herald.* 1907. Monthly by the Bingham Publishing Co., East Utica and Purdy streets. Martha Griffith Bingham, editor. A magazine devoted to rescue mission work and the interests of the Emmanuelist Home. In June, 1912, publication office moved to South Framingham, Mass.
- **Der Emmaus Pilger.* (Ger.: "The Emmaus Pilgrim.") 1905. Monthly. Published by the Evangelisch Lutherischen Emmaus Gemeinde, 210 Southampton street. Edited by Rev. Emil E. Mueller. This parish paper of the Emmaus Lutheran church was printed in Buffalo 1905-1908. In 1915, printed in Erie, Pa., though edited, as it has been from the first, by the pastor of the Buffalo Congregation.
- Empire Order Journal.* Ca. 1883. E. W. Beach, publisher, 213 Main street.
- †*The Empire State Amateur.* Feb., 1891. Monthly, amateur. "Official organ of the Empire State Amateur Press Association." John J. Ottinger, editor.
- **Empire State American.* 1894. Weekly. Published every Saturday by the American Publishing Co., 59 Terrace. "Official paper of the Superior Council of the State of New York."
- **Empire State Woodman.* 1905. Monthly, by Woodmen of the World. E. T. Lowry, N. Y. State manager and editor, 434 Brisbane Bldg.
- Empire State Workman.* 1909. Monthly. Edited by A. C. Harwick, Grand Recorder, 36 W. Huron street.
- **The Empire State Vocational Conference Bulletin.* Oct., 1914. Lewis A. Wilson, editor in chief, Albany. Printed by the boys of the printing dept., Elm Vocational School, Buffalo. Issued several times yearly, for the conferences of vocational teachers.
- †*The Buffalo Emporium and General Advertiser.* Sept., 1824. Weekly, by John A. Lazelle and Simeon Francis. From Dec., 1826 it was issued semi-weekly—the first Buffalo paper to be issued oftener than weekly. Discontinued late in 1829.
- The Endeavorer.* 1913. Monthly, by the Buffalo Assembly of Christian Endeavor. Geo. W. Grupp, editor, 102 Wesley avenue.
- Daily Enquirer.* 1838. A campaign paper of brief existence. (See "Inquirer.")
- †*The Buffalo Enquirer.* 1891. Daily. Published by William B. Held, 509 Main street. In the fall of 1892, it was bought by William J. Conners and E. G. S. Miller. Charles J. Kingsley was managing editor. Some stock was held by Kingsley and George Rehbaum, both of whom sold out to Mr. Conners, who moved the office from the corner of Main and Huron streets to 250 Main street. Samuel G. Blythe was managing editor during the Spanish-American war. His successors have included Mal-

- colm B. Clissold, Charles Bennett Smith (afterwards Representative in Congress), James L. Nixon, Rowland B. Mahaney, and Gerald K. Rudolph. William J. Conners & Company first published it, December 16, 1896, as the *Morning Enquirer*. On February 10, 1897, it became *The Buffalo Record*, which in May, 1897, was merged with the *Courier*; and a re-established *Enquirer* was continued as an evening paper, being marked in 1915, "vol. 72."
- The *Buffalo Enterprise*. Nov., 1875. Small amateur paper. The editor's name not printed. Issued by the Enterprise Publishing Co.
- *The *Enterprise*. 1893. Weekly, at 1715 Niagara street (Black Rock), by the Black Rock Publishing Co. See *Black Rock Enterprise*.
- *The *Eolian*. 1845. Weekly. Published Thursdays. Its motto was "to amuse and instruct," but it is a long ways from the modern idea of a humorous paper.
- †*Erie County Independent*. Nov., 1894. Weekly. Buffalo and Hamburg. Printed by the Buffalo Catholic Publication Co.
- The *Erie County Leader*. Ca. 1883. Joseph DeBarthe, proprietor. Continued about two years.
- Erie Endeavor*. Ca. 1900. Monthly, by the Erie Endeavor Publishing Co., 65 West Huron street. In the interest of the Christian Endeavor Societies.
- *The *Evangel*. Feb., 1898. Monthly. "A magazine for the people, devoted to the restoration of primitive Christianity." Published by the Evangel Publishing Co., G. Calhoun Moore, business manager, 606 Guaranty Bldg.
- The *Evangelical Christian*. 1851. Published by Geo. Stanbro & Co.
- Evangelische Gemeindeseitung*. (Ger.: "Evangelical Church News.") 1877. Weekly, by Berner & Mesmer. Originally devoted to Protestant church interests. After a few months it was renamed *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land*, and issued as a daily political independent journal.
- Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt*. (Ger.: "Evangelical Church Paper.") Ca. 1877. Weekly. Published by German Protestant pastors.
- **Evangelischer Gemeindebote*. (Ger.: "Evangelical Church Messenger.") 1886. Monthly. Published by the Buffalo Conference of Pastors of the Evangelical Synod of North America. Rev. Gottfried Berner, editor, 148 Watson street. Later by Rev. Otto Becher, 622 Oak street; in 1914, by Rev. P. Speidel, 148 Watson street.
- Everybody for Buffalo*. 1871. Data lacking.
- Everyday Life*. 1905. Monthly, by the United States Magazine Co., 197 Main street. Continued about three years.

- †**Buffalo Every Saturday*. Nov. 24, 1877, to Dec. 20, 1879. Saturdays. "A weekly journal of miscellaneous reading," edited and published by Dasher Welch; issued from 143 Washington street. From August, '78, it bore an engraved heading specifying "Literature, music, the drama, fine arts and social topics" as its special field. In size and general appearance it was not unlike the *Nation*. Among its contributors were James Parton, George Fawcett Howe, Joe Howard, Olive Logan, and Eli Perkins.
- †The *Examiner*. 1833. Monthly, in the interest of the Unitarian denomination.
- Excelsior*. 1869. Monthly. W. T. Horner, publisher. Survived some three years.
- Excelsior*. 1886. Weekly, by George Sutton, 350 Elk street. "Devoted to the interest of labor." Short-lived.
- *The *Exponent*. Feb., 1894. Monthly. Published at 551 Main street. I. E. Dean and Harry S. Vail, editors. "Devoted to the interests of the New York State Alliance. Official organ of the State F. A. & I. U. of New York."
- †**Buffalo Morning Express*. Daily. Established Jan. 15, 1846, by A. M. Clapp & Co.; Clapp & McCredie were the first proprietors. Jas. McKay was the first editor, succeeded in the fall of '46 by W. E. Robinson, formerly of the *New York Tribune*; so that the *Express* was referred to by some of its contemporaries as "a branch of the *New York Tribune*." In 1848 T. N. Parmelee was editor. In 1851, Hon. Seth C. Hawley bought an interest, and became editor. The next year he retired, Mr. Clapp taking up editorial duties. In August, 1855, the daily *Democracy* was united with the *Express*, and for several years it bore the title, *The Buffalo Morning Express and Daily Democracy*, with daily, weekly and tri-weekly editions. In 1860, Mr. Wheeler retired from the firm, H. H. Clapp taking his place, with J. N. Larned as associate editor. In 1866 the *Express Printing Company* was formed, the proprietors being A. M. Clapp, H. H. Clapp, J. N. Larned, Geo. H. Selkirk, and Thos. Kennett; Mr. Larned being editor. In 1869 Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) bought the interest of Thos. Kennett, and the Messrs. Clapp sold their interests to the other partners, Mr. A. M. Clapp having become Public Printer at Washington. In 1872 Matthews & Warren bought a controlling interest, J. N. Matthews being president and editor; J. D. Warren, vice-president; Geo. H. Selkirk, treasurer. The next year Matthews & Warren sold to a stock company, consisting of numerous Republican politicians. In 1876 Coleman E. Bishop became editor. In 1877 the political syndicate relinquished its interests to Geo. H. Selkirk and others. In 1878 J. N. Matthews became owner, and editor, with F. A. Crandall as managing editor. Mr. Matthews died Dec. 20, 1888, and was succeeded as owner by his son George E. Matthews; Jas. W. Greene being managing editor. Geo. E. Matthews died June 11, 1911. Since that time the *Express* has been owned by the J. N. Matthews Co.

The *Sunday Express* was first issued Nov. 20, 1883, from which date it and the other daily issues appeared in quarto form, the *Express* being the first Buffalo paper to adopt this more convenient form in preference to the large-page or "blanket" sheets of earlier years.

The *Express* was burned out April 16, 1885; issued April 17 from the *Courier* office; and from temporary offices until its own building could be occupied.

The *Illustrated Express*, evolving from the Sunday issue, was first issued Jan. 3, 1886. Frank H. Severance, who had been city editor of the daily, became managing editor of the *Illustrated Express*, continuing until Dec., 1902. When the paper was first established, the "half-tone" process of photograph reproduction was not available for newspaper use. Reliance was had, for the first few years, on woodcuts and the zinc etching process. These were in time superseded by the half-tone process. The *Illustrated Express* was a pioneer in pictorial journalism, both in the use of picture-making processes, and in the popular illustration of news; for which it gained a national reputation and, in time, a host of imitators.

The founder of the *Express*, Almon M. Clapp, born in Connecticut in 1811, learned the printer's trade in Geneseo, and in 1828 became a resident of Buffalo, working as a printer for Day, Follett & Haskins, receiving \$60 per year, board and lodging, until he reached his majority. In 1835, at Aurora, now East Aurora, N. Y., he founded the *Aurora Standard*, which he edited and published for three years. In 1838 he had editorial and business connection with the *Commercial Advertiser*, then retired from journalism until January, 1846, when he established the *Express* as above stated; finally disposing of his interest in the paper in 1869. In the meantime he had held various offices. In 1839 he was elected clerk of the Board of Supervisors of Erie County, which post he filled for two terms. For some 10 years he was Loan Commissioner of the U. S. Deposit Fund. In 1853, he was elected to the State Assembly, declining to serve more than one term. In 1857 he was an unsuccessful candidate for Secretary of State, sharing in the general defeat of the Republican ticket. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him Postmaster of Buffalo, and reappointed him in 1865. He was removed, June, 1866, for disloyalty to the administration of Andrew Johnson. In 1866 he received the Republican nomination for Representative in Congress from Erie County, but with his party he met defeat. In 1869 he was elected Congressional Printer, which office he held until 1877, in which year he bought the *National Republican* of Washington, continuing its owner and editor until 1880, when he sold it. He died April 9, 1899, being at the time of his death president of the Anti-Civil Service League.

James Newson Matthews re-established The *Express*. Born in England in 1828, he came to Buffalo in his 18th year, even then an expert printer. Employed by Jewett, Thomas & Co., he was soon their foreman. Leaving that employ in 1848, he

became foreman in the *Republic* office; carried on a job-printing business, founded the short-lived *Journal of Commerce* (q. v.); and a few years later, with the owner of *The Express*, established the firm of Clapp, Matthews & Co., the "Co." being Rufus Wheeler, who withdrew in 1860. Messrs. Wheeler, Jas. D. Warren and Joseph Candee, under the firm name of R. Wheeler & Co., had bought the *Commercial Advertiser* from E. R. Jewett; and Mr. Matthews, who was a close friend of Mr. Wheeler, parted with his *Express* interest, and joined in a new firm, Wheeler, Matthews & Warren, owning the *Commercial*, Mr. Candee dropping out. Mr. Wheeler retired after some years and Matthews & Warren continued with the *Commercial*, and also for a time (from 1872) owned a controlling interest in *The Express*. In 1877 the partners separated, Mr. Warren taking the business of the *Commercial*. Mr. Matthews, who had been the editor of that paper, took the Washington Block as his share of the partnership property, and soon after, 1878, bought *The Express*, which he personally conducted until his death, December 20, 1888. He was able as an editor, a good fighter in any cause he championed; in all ways a strong personality; and always fond of exercising his skill and taste in the printer's art. No other man ever connected with the Buffalo press had such regard for the typography of his paper, as J. N. Matthews. Under his hand *The Express* was one of the handsomest papers in America.

George E. Matthews, who succeeded his father as editor and proprietor of *The Express*, successfully carried it on until his death, June 11, 1911.

From 1878 to 1886 the managing editor of the *Express* was Francis A. Crandall, a practical printer, a clear thinker and a vigorous writer. A varied newspaper experience, before coming to Buffalo, still further qualified him for his work. No man in all the history of Buffalo journalism had a truer sense of the relative value of news, or knew better how to present it attractively. He was never dull; he could give sprightliness to an editorial page without lowering the standards of taste or dignity. Politically, his work was a force to be reckoned with in any campaign; and J. N. Matthews was warranted in styling him "the model managing editor." In July, 1886, he accepted the post of editor-in-chief of the Providence (R. I.) *Evening Telegram*. Returning to Buffalo, he was successively connected with the *Courier*, the *Enquirer* and the *Times*. In 1893 President Cleveland offered him the position of Public Printer, but confirmation was blocked in the Senate, and Mr. Crandall accepted the post of Superintendent of Public Documents. He died in Washington, July 9, 1915.

*The *Evening Express*. 1868. An evening edition, issued from the office of *The Morning Express*, 14 East Swan street, at three cents a copy. Continued two or three years. See *Bee* and *Evening Express*.

The *Factory Magazine*. Monthly. Data lacking.

- **Buffalo Fair and Square*. Feb. 11, 1908. Semi-monthly, by the West Side Press Co., 28 Grant street. Harry E. Blampied, editor, Albert P. Lee, business manager. "Devoted exclusively to the business and home interests of the West Side."
- **Buffalo Fair Play*. 1905. Weekly. Published by George W. Bloodgood, 613-615 Main street. "Guaranteed circulation, 50,000 copies"!
- Der Familien Freund*. (Ger.: "The Family Friend.") 1839. Monthly. German Methodist periodical, first edited by Rev. Adam Groebe, 223 East street.
- †*The Family Friend*. July, 1896. Monthly. Published by the Trans-State Publishing Co., 44 Niagara street. Managing editor, R. J. Buchanan.
- The Fanciers' Exchange*. 1891. Monthly. Geo. W. Strong, M. D., editor, 254 Broadway. Later conducted by Oscar W. Parker. Devoted to fancy pigeon breeding and pet stock generally. Continued to about 1895.
- Farm, Garden and Fireside*. 1877. Monthly, by H. P. Hayes & Co., 132 Niagara street.
- The Farmers' Review and Live Stock Journal*. 1885. Weekly, by C. H. Webster, 16 Nichols Alley; Webster Bros., 63 Carroll street. The title varied from time to time. In 1894, it was: *The Farmers' Journal and Live Stock Review*; in '96, *The Farmers' Journal, Live Stock and Horse Review*; etc.
- **Farther Lights Herald*. June 5, 1896. Enlarged, April 1, 1898. Occasional, by the Farther Lights Society of the Prospect avenue Baptist church. What appears to be the first issue (June 5, '96) is numbered with a facetiousness not unusual in church publications, "vol. 99."
- The Fashion Magazine*. 1888. Monthly, by Barnes, Hengerer & Co., 260 Main street.
- The Fashion Quarterly*. 1886. By Alfred E. Rose, 260 Main street.
- **Fashions*. Monthly, ill. Published by Adam, Meldrum & Anderson Co. A journal "for American Women."
- **The Fenian Volunteer*. 1867. Weekly. Issued Saturdays by Patrick O'Day, at 136 Main street, corner Terrace; later on Seneca near Main. A 4-p. journal with engraved heading. Short-lived.
- The Fern Leaf*. 1890. Monthly, amateur.
- La Fiacolla*. (Ital.: "The Torch.") Weekly. Established by the Italian Branch of the Socialist party, at 127 W. Eagle street, August 7, 1909. A rose-hued sheet of 8 pages, 6x9 inches. After one year, increased its size, but reduced its pages to four. Discontinued publication, December, 1912.
- **Fest Zeitung für das 23ste Nordamerikanische Saengerfest*. Official gazette of the 23rd N. A. Saengerfest, Nos. 1 to 20; Jan. 16 to Aug. 13, 1883.

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ers." Some of his lectures were entitled, "Wit and Humor," "The Comic Side of Life," and "The Old Boys." He is probably best remembered by a poem, once popular with elocutionists, "The Creed of the Bells." Mr. Bungay died at Bloomfield, N. J., July 10, 1892.

**The Gas Industry*. Monthly. Established, 1900, in N. Y. City, as *Light* and there published until Oct., 1910, when the office was moved to Buffalo. Published by Periodicals Publishing Co., Lucius S. Bigelow, president-editor, 64 Pearl street.

**Gazeta Buffaloska*. (Polish: "Buffalo Gazette.") 1900. Weekly, by F. A. Olszanowski, at 1026 Broadway. Since 1908, carried on by Vincenty Smoleczynska; in 1915, at 865 Fillmore avenue.

†*The Buffalo Gazette*. October 3, 1811. Weekly.

The first newspaper on the Niagara Frontier, published by Smith H. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury. The publication was at times irregular, often because of the difficulty to obtain paper. The issue of Dec. 14, 1813, was the last one before Buffalo was burned; the office was moved to Harris Hill, where the *Gazette* reappeared, January 18, 1814. In April it moved back to Buffalo. In 1818 Hezekiah A. Salisbury became sole proprietor, and in April, 1819, changed its name to the *Niagara Patriot*, q. v. When Erie County was established, 1822, the paper was rechristened the *Buffalo Patriot*, q. v. Under that name it was carried on by William A. Carpenter, Harvey Newcomb and Guy H. Salisbury. In January, 1834, it became the *Buffalo Patriot and Commercial Advertiser*, and January 1, 1835, became the *Commercial Advertiser*, q. v.

†*The Daily Gazette*. August, 1842, by Chas. Faxon 2d, the weekly edition being styled the *Old School Jeffersonian*, q. v. In Feb., 1843, these papers were discontinued, Messrs. H. A. Salisbury, B. A. Manchester and Jas. O. Brayman taking over the plant and issuing the daily and weekly *Buffalo Gazette*, which in turn was discontinued in 1845.

The Buffalo Gazette. 1867. Weekly. Published at 320 Main street, American Block, by Swigert & Co. Continued until about 1869. Official journal of cigarmakers.

The Gazette. 1902. Monthly, by Jas. A. Ross, 153 Clinton street. Succeeded by *The Gazetteer and Guide*.

**Gazetteer of the New York Central Railroad* and General Railway Index. 1863. Monthly. E. A. Thomas, publisher.

†*The Gazetteer*. 1891. Bi-monthly, amateur. Mabel A. Lynes and Frank W. Lynes, editor and manager, 101 Park street. Others later.

†*The Gazetteer and Guide*. 1903. Monthly. Jas. A. Ross, managing editor, 153 Clinton street. "An illustrated magazine for colored folk."

†*The Gem*. Feb., 1891. Monthly, amateur. Arthur S. Mann, Wm. H. Walker, Jr., Emil A. Becker, Jr., editors, 71 West North street.

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THE REVIEW, OCTOBER 3, 1881.

**Waldinger Greek Grammar,
Greek Textbook!**

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Greek Textbook!**

MISCELLANEOUS.
Arnold's Singing Books.
 Little & Service's 40s. Law's 40s.
 Cantata for Singing Schools.
 Complete Preceptor for the German Flute.

Do. for the Wife,
Olmsted's Collection of Manual Music,
A new Collection of Marches,
Lullabies and Day Songs,
Small Account Books,
Ciphering and Writing do.

Alphabetical Copy Slip,	do.
A large and elegant Map of the World,	
Dreari's Map of New York,	
McCalpin's do.	do.
Killico's do.	do.
do. of the Holland Purchase	

Map of Malacca Straits,
D. of District of Malacca,
Geographical Cards,
Landscape Painting do.
F. 416 do.

PAMPHLETS and CHAP BOOKS.
Deterioration of the Genesee County, with
Large and Small Meflage do.

Washington's Farewell Address,
Road, Militia, and Ten Pound Act.

Facsimile, upper half of page of the first issue. Size of original, 10 by 17½ inches. Reproduced by courtesy of the Buffalo Public Library.

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**The Genealogical Exchange*. May, 1904, to April, 1911. Monthly. Mrs. Natalie R. Fernald, editor and publisher. Discontinued in 1911, on the editor's removal to Washington.

General Assembly Journal of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. May 20-31, 1881. Daily, during General Assembly.

**Genesee Conference Deaconess*. Ca. 1891. Quarterly, in the interest of the Genesee Conference Deaconess Home, 292 Niagara street. In 1903, issued monthly, Price A. Crow, editor, 448 Elk street.

†*Gilded Star*. 1891. Monthly, amateur.

**The Gleaner*. Dec. 20, 1849. Published by the 2d department Public School 14. An 8-p. journal, printed by E. A. Maynard, at the office of the *Buffalo Daily Republic*.

†*The Globe*. April, 1873. Monthly, ill. "A magazine of literary record and criticism," published by the Globe Co., 255 Washington street. Wm. C. Cornwell, editor and cartoonist; A. M. Sangster, A. N. Samuels and other local artists as contributors. (Vol. IV., 1877.)

Glos Ludu. (Polish: "Voice of the People.") 1895. Weekly, by A. Karwowski, or the Polish National Publishing Co., 1017 Broadway. About 1899 it became *Reforma*, q. v. From the start, it was published in the interest of the Independent Polish church.

Glos Wolny. (Polish: "Free Voice.") 1886. Weekly at 1054 Broadway; Mr. Szawisza, editor. In 1888 bought by M. J. Sadowski and changed to *Echo*, q. v.

†*The Golden Herald*. 1892. Monthly, amateur, by G. R. Cutting and G. H. Sellers, 265 Hoyt street.

The Good Shepherd. 1905. A daily paper published at St. Ann's Hall, Buffalo, by the Press Committee in the interest of the Asylum of Our Lady of Refuge (Good Shepherd). John A. Marencovick, editor; Edward J. Frank, asst. editor and secretary; Wm. Jansen, asst. editor and treasurer. Daily, April 27-May 8, 1905.

The Gospel Advocate. 1822. A Universalist paper, established by Rev. Thomas L. S. Gross. After about a year it passed into the hands of Simeon Burton, who continued it three years. Then it was carried on by Rev. L. S. Everett, Rev. Theophilus Fisk and M. Tuttle, until 1828, when it was moved to Auburn, and later merged with the *Evangelical Magazine*, Utica.

The Gospel Banner. 1832. Monthly. Published by Benjamin Clark of Alden, but printed in Buffalo. The *Banner* advocated the union of all Christians into one body, doing away with all sects. Continued two years.

The Gospel Message. 1903. Monthly. M. D. Ballard, editor and publisher, 1026 Hertel avenue.

Great Expectations. Jan., 1870. Monthly, by Deshler Welch. One of the most successful of the numerous amateur papers of that period. Printed by Haas & Kelley, and continued one year,

reaching a circulation of 800. Among its contributors were Bishop Coxe, his son Reginald Coxe, the artist, Dr. Ingersoll, Grace and Sallie Truscott, Jane Meade Welch and Jennie Watson. The editor's mother, Mrs. Samuel Welch, edited a department called "Friendly Chat."

†**Greater Buffalo*. April 15, 1897. "Devoted to promoting prosperity of the 'Power City of America.'" 720 Real Estate Exchange. Later issues constituted a "Pan-American Series," "a monthly journal of Twentieth Century Americanism." In 1902 it appeared as "the only commercial and manufacturing journal published in Western New York"; published by the Smith Parsons Co., 43 Board of Trade. In April, 1903, the title was changed to *Commerce*. In 1897-April 1898, Arthur K. Willyoung and Benj. Hatmaker, proprietors; from May, 1898, Benj. J. Hatmaker, manager; later he appears as proprietor and editor, at 707 Mutual Life Bldg.; from August, 1902, Howard J. Smith, editor.

†The *Greenback Standard*. Oct. 12, 1878. Weekly. "Devoted to the industrial interests of the country." Organ of the National Greenback Labor party, campaign of 1878. Jas. S. Leavitt and H. L. Bliss, editors and proprietors, 368 Main street.

*The *Green Book*. Official Railway, Steamship, and Trolley Guide. 1908. Monthly. Published by the Niagara Frontier Publishing Co., Buffalo and Gowanda, N. Y. Buffalo office, 501 Peoples Bank Building.

†*The *Guard of Honor Monthly*. Oct., 1872-1883. Monthly, by A. L. Freeman & Co., 96 Pearl street. Established and edited by Miss Charlotte Mulligan in the interest of the Guard of Honor Society and Young Men's Bible Class of Wells street Chapel, Buffalo.

**Buffalo Weekly Guide*. 1899. Weekly. Published by D. Mason & Co., 10 Stafford Building. Summary of railway and street-car time-tables, etc. In 1915, at 52 W. Eagle street.

Gwiazda. (Polish: "Star.") Ca. 1887. A small 8-page paper started by F. E. Fronczak when he was fifteen years old. Issued from the office of the *Polak w Ameryce*; reached only the third number.

*La *Hacienda*. (Spanish: "The Plantation.") 1905. Monthly, by the Hacienda Co., Sidway Building. Wm. F. Wendt, president. An illustrated review of agricultural and other rural interests, for the promotion of trade with Spanish-American countries.

*Der *Hanswurst am Erie*. (Ger.: "The Harlequin of Erie.") Published for the Buffalo Orpheus "Narrensitzung" and Bal Masque, at St. James Hall, Jan. 26-Feb. 2, 1880.

Harmonia. (Polish: "Harmonia.") 1903. Monthly, by Leon Olszewski, publisher and editor, 948 Sycamore street. Official organ of the United Polish Singers of America.

Der *Hausbesucher*. (Ger.: "Home Visitor.") 1888. Monthly. Religious journal edited by Rev. E. A. Weier, 84 Krettner street.

Der Hauspach und Dioctetische Hausfreund. 1852. Established and conducted by Conrad Baer, published by Dr. Dio Lewis and C. Baer; discontinued after about one year.

**The Hayes Bulletin.* 1906. Quarterly, by P. Harold Hayes (Inc.). Geo. S. Hobbie, M. D., editor. Devoted to asthma and hay-fever.

The Buffalo Herald. In October, 1831, Rev. Randolph Stone, understood to have been a Presbyterian minister, published a prospectus of *The Buffalo Herald*, which he proposed to issue weekly in Buffalo, said paper to be devoted "to the local and general interests of Morality and Religion; to the Civil, Literary, Commercial, Agricultural and Mechanical interests of the country." Subscriptions were solicited at \$3.00 per year, or \$2.00 if paid in advance. The first number was issued Dec. 21, 1831. A misunderstanding arising between editor and printer, the second number was never issued.

Buffalo Herald. 1891. Amateur.

The Buffalo Herald. 1905. Monthly, by the Herald Publishing Co., 335 Washington street. An organ of the Socialist party.

**Sunday Herald.* 1851. Weekly. Saturday evenings. Geo. Wentworth, editor; Wentworth & Thomson, publishers. Devoted to news and fiction. Page 3 bears heading: "Fireman's Journal."

The Sunday Herald. 1853. Issued for about three months by Geo. W. Weeks.

Sunday Morning Herald. 1877. Published by J. B. Adams. Discontinued, 1878.

**Buffalo Herald and Cold Spring News, Ca.* 1895. Weekly. Published, Thursdays, by Munn & Cloud, at 35 Exchange street. Editor, Geo. B. Munn, 1420 Main street. T. J. Cloud, manager.

†*Herald of the Truth.* Jan., 1862. Monthly, by W. T. Horner; A. B. Green, Thos. Munnell, A. S. Hayden, N. J. Mitchell, corresponding editors. Continued about five years.

**The Buffalo Herd.* June, 1915. Weekly. "An amusement guide and sporting chronicle for the pleasure loving public of Buffalo." Published Fridays by the Buffalo Herd Pub. Co., Frank J. Offermann, publisher; L. A. Norton, bus. mgr., 301 Broadway, and 433 Ellicott Square. A 10-p. 4to with cover.

Sonntags Herold. (Ger.: "Sunday Herald.") See under *Sonntags Herold.*

Der Buffalo Herold. (Ger.) 1897. Weekly, at 492 Genesee street. "Founded by stock-holders devoted to German social life." In Jan., 1898, it passed into the hands of Joseph Mosler & Co., and a few months later was merged with the *Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung.*

†**The High School Calendar.* Feb. 29, 1892; founded and first edited by Geo. S. Buck. First issued as a four-page paper, every three weeks; given a new heading for vol. 2, October, 1892. Given a magazine form with the "Christmas Calendar," December 19, 1893; another change, March, 1895.

**High School World*. Nov., 1914. Weekly, by the Scholastic Publishing Co., G. W. Calhoun, editor-in-chief; John McMahon, associate editor. "The only weekly paper in the State devoted solely to the interests of the scholastic institutions." A well-made 16-p. journal, issued from 181 Normal avenue. Discontinued, May, 1915.

Das *Historische Zeitblatt und Literarischer Anzeiger*. May, 1854. Monthly, by Conrad Baer. Discontinued, 1857.

†*The Home*. 1856. "A fireside monthly companion and guide for the wife, the mother, the sister and the daughter." Edited by Mrs. Harriet E. G. Arey. Published by E. F. Beadle. In 1859, edited by Mrs. Metta V. Victor and published by Beadle & Adams, New York and Buffalo. See "*The Home Monthly*."

Home Life. Ca. 1897. Monthly. A family paper issued from 640 Ellicott Square.

†*The Home Monthly*. 1859. Successor of *The Home*, edited by Mrs. H. E. G. Arey and Mrs. C. H. Gildersleeve. These ladies, under the firm name of Arey & Gildersleeve, were their own publishers.

Mrs. Arey was the wife of a well-remembered principal of Buffalo's first High School. Mrs. Gildersleeve, afterwards Mrs. Gildersleeve Longstreet, had a reputation in literary work much more than local; as had Mrs. Arey, Mrs. Mary A. Dennison, at that time a resident of Buffalo, Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, Virginia F. Townsend, Mary A. Ripley—another Buffalo teacher and poet—David Gray and still others who in the '50's and early '60's constituted a literary coterie of worth and reputation. Many of the poetical contributions of the *Home Monthly* are to be rated as representative work of that period. Each issue of the *Home Monthly* had a steel-plate frontispiece, and altogether was as elegant and ladylike as could be wished, thoroughly representative of the best in periodical literature for women half a century ago—but how different from the "ladies' journals" of today!

The *Homeopathic Journal of Pediatrics*. 1902. Monthly. John G. Chadwick, M. D., editor, 382 Franklin street.

The *Homeopathic Quarterly*. 1869. Quarterly. Rollin R. Gregg, M. D., editor and proprietor. 42 S. Division street. Discontinued 1871.

Honest Industry. 1840. One number only of this journal was issued, summer of 1840, by Dr. Daniel Lee. Described as a "large and handsome paper devoted to the cause of the working classes."

Horner's Pictorial Home Quarterly. 1875. Quarterly, pp. 20. W. T. Horner, A. M., editor and publisher.

Horner's Railway and Business Guide. 1873. Monthly. Published by W. T. Horner, 253 Washington street. Ceased, 1875.

**The Horse Gazette*. 1892. Weekly. H. S. Pickett, editor and publisher, 283 Main street; later by L. S. Beeman, 84 Terrace.

- **The Horse World*. Ca. 1889. Weekly. Published Fridays by the Horse World Co., 135 Main street. In 1912, every Tuesday, at 336 Ellicott Square; Geo. E. Lattimer, pres., Henry L. Allen, secretary and editor. In 1915, at 1028 Marine National Bank.
- The *Horse World and Veterinary Record*. 1890. Monthly, by the Wenborne-Sumner Co., 258 Pearl street.
- †**The Hospital Leaflet*. May 10, 1895. Monthly. Devoted to the interests of the Buffalo Homeopathic Hospital, 74 Cottage street. Conducted by Mrs. Chas. J. North, until Sept., 1905. A year later continued as *The Hospital Topics*.
- †**The Hospital Topics*. Sept., 1906. Monthly. Devoted to the interests of the Buffalo Homeopathic Hospital, 74 Cottage street. Later, at Lafayette and Linwood avenues.
- Buffalo Hotel and Theatrical News*. 1887. Daily, by T. C. O'Connor, 80-82 Seneca street.
- How to Export*. 1909. Monthly, by Wilbur Lake, 28 Church street. Later, published in conjunction with an English edition.
- Humoristischer Volksfreund*. (Ger.: "Humorous Friend.") October, 1853. Weekly, illustrated. "Exclusively devoted to amusement," by Friedrich Reinecke. The success of this small paper led to the establishment of the *Buffalo Allgemeine Zeitung*, q. v.
- **The Hydraulic Interests*. 1894. Weekly. Issued Saturdays by the Coöperative Printing Co., 15 Terrace. "Devoted to the business interests of the Hydraulics."
- Hygienic Advocate*. 1869. Monthly. H. P. Burdick, M. D., publisher, 527 Seneca street. Continued less than two years.
- Buffalo Idea*. Ca. 1898. Weekly. "A free paper," published at 300 Morgan Building. Continued until 1902.
- †**The Illustrated Buffalo Journal of the International Industrial Fair*. 1888. (July-Sept.) Semi-monthly by the Buffalo International Fair Ass'n, C. J. Hamlin, pres.
- The Illustrated Buffalo Review*. See *Buffalo Review*. (Amateur).
- **Illustrated Industrial and Architectural Review*. 1896-1902. Monthly. J. I. Karl, proprietor and manager, 38 Lewis Block. "The only building and architectural paper printed in Buffalo." Later at Room 30, Builders' Exchange, it appeared as the "official organ of the Builders' Association Exchange, Buffalo."
- The Illustrated New York Monthly*. 1897. Amateur.
- **The Illustrated Pan-American*. June, 1899. A few issues only.
- Illustrated Sportsman*. Monthly, by Illustrated Sportsman Publishing Co., 849 West avenue.
- **Illustrated Sunday Magazine*. See "*Buffalo Evening Times*."
- **Illustrated Sunday Star*. Weekly. Published at No. 5 S. Division street. John Bachman, manager. Data lacking.
- Illustrirte Abend Schule*. (Ger.: "Illustrated Evening School.") 1854. Semi-monthly, by Rev. C. Diehlman.

- **Immanuel Booster*. Sept., 1915. Monthly, for Immanuel Evangelical Church, Military road and Glor street, Rev. H. L. Strreich, pastor.
- **L'Imparsiale*. (Ital.: "Impartial.") Jan., 1895. Suspended June 1, 1895. Weekly. Published, Sundays, by L'Imparsiale Publishing Co., at 41 Franklin street. Editor, Prof. Salv. Perez de Vera. For the first six weeks it had an English "patent inside," then became wholly Italian.
- †*Imp*. May, 1896. Monthly or irregular to Feb. 1889, when the name was changed to *Inklets*, *q. v.* Conducted by W. H. Wright.
- The Impetus*. 1845. Monthly. 4to, by E. W. Spaulding. Lasted about six months.
- **The Buffalo Independent*. August 5, 1893. Weekly. Published Saturdays at No. 230 Pearl street. Harry De Vere, editor and manager. E. L. Greenup, publisher and sporting editor.
- Sunday Independent Leader*. 1876. Weekly. Sundays, by John B. Adams, 11 W. Seneca street. Died in about two years. Mr. Adams had been associated with E. H. Butler, and as senior member of the firm of Adams & Butler published the *Sunday News*. The partnership soon ended, and each partner undertook to carry on a Sunday paper. The *News* lived; the *Leader* died.
- The Independent Practitioner*. Monthly. Medico-Dental magazine edited by W. C. Barrett, M. D., D. D. S., No. 11 W. Chippewa street; later at 208 Franklin street. Flourished for many years.
- The Buffalo Index*. 1875. Temperance organ, conducted by Dr. Clayton M. Hill. In Dec. 1878, it became the *Royal Templar and Index*, *q. v.*
- The Industrial Record*. During the Buffalo Exposition of 1869, by Thos. Kean and Thos. S. King.
- †*Inklets*. Feb., 1889, by W. H. Wright, succeeding his *Imp*, *q. v.*
- Buffalo Daily Inquirer*. July 26, 1834, by W. Verrinder, office of the *Literary Inquirer*. The daily was soon dropped.
- The Intending Builder*. 1895. Weekly. Official organ, the Builders' Exchange, 41 Builders' Exchange; in 1896, monthly.
- **International Gazette*. 1885. Weekly, by Alf E. Tovey. At one period the name was the *International Gazette and Cold Spring Recorder*. In 1900-'01 it was the *Pan-American Gazette*. Published Saturdays at 1724 Niagara street.
- The Inventor's Advertiser*. Ca. 1856. Thomas P. How, publisher. How was a patent agent, with office at 15 Brown's Building.
- The Investigator*. 1898. Quarterly. Published by the Buffalo Dental Mfg. Co., 587-589 Main street. Official organ of the Alumni Ass'n, Dental Dept., University of Buffalo.
- †*The Iron Industry Gazette*. 1887-1898. Monthly, by McFane & Nolan, over Bank of Attica, cor. Pearl & Seneca streets.
- The Iron Review*. 1884. Monthly, by Homer E. Dudley & Co., 63 White Bldg. About 1886 it became *The Iron Review and Railway Magazine*, C. L. Shirrell & Co.

The Iron Review and Railway Magazine. Monthly, by C. L. Shirrell & Co., 41-43 Franklin street. Later carried on by L. H. Ellison.

The Iron World. Monthly, by the American Industry Press (Ltd.), 13½ Swan street.

**The Irving Era.* Ca. 1874. Monthly. Published by Bigelow Brothers for the Irving Literary Society. Editors: N. S. Rozenau, Geo. W. Benson, Jas. W. Putnam. Business manager, Henry S. Hill.

L'Italiano nelle Diocesi di Buffalo, N. Y. (Ital.: "The Italian of the Diocese of Buffalo, N. Y.") Published for a short time in the fall of 1911. A 20-page magazine with cover.

†*The Buffalo Item.* 1888. Every two weeks; later a monthly distributed gratuitously, by D. L. Kelly, 46 Clifford street. Small 4to devoted to mechanics and science. Amateuish. (Public Library file ends Feb., 1890.)

†*The Item.* 1891. Monthly, amateur. S. E. Kingsley, editor and proprietor, 368 Linwood avenue. Later (vol. 2, 1892) Chas. A. Rupp and Maxon W. Tift carried it on.

The Jeffersonian. 1842. Daily. An Administration journal established and conducted by J. C. Brayman and J. H. Lathrop. Discontinued, spring of 1843.

**Jerusalem Watch-tower.* (Ger.: "Jerusalem Watch-tower.") Ca. 1845. "A weekly paper for the consideration of the important questions of our time." Printed in Jerusalem, but published in America by Ph. Paulus, 94 Sage avenue, Buffalo.

The Jewish Advance. Weekly, by Joseph Fybush, 202 Main street. Apparently not issued after 1894.

†*Buffalo Journal.* 1821. Weekly, later daily. Successor of the *Niagara Journal* (q. v.). In 1822, edited by R. W. Haskins, giving place in 1826 to Oran Follett. For a time its title read *The Buffalo Journal and Mercantile Advertiser*, published Tuesdays by David M. Day. November 14, 1827, the bookstore and printing office of Day, Follett & Haskins, including the *Journal* office, were destroyed by fire, and the paper was suspended for some weeks. It was again issued Dec. 29, 1827. In 1830, David M. Day became sole owner.

In 1834, Elijah J. Roberts bought the *Journal*. In the summer of that year, he issued the *Daily Advertiser*, which lived about six weeks. The *Journal* was suspended early in 1835. Mr. Day, who had established the *Buffalo Whig* (of which R. W. Haskins had become editor) bought the title and subscription list, and the *Whig* became the *Whig and Journal*.

January 1, 1836, Mitchenor Cadwallader and Dr. Henry R. Stagg joined forces with Mr. Day, and in February issued the *Daily Buffalo Journal*. In 1837 Mr. Day retired, and the paper was continued by Stagg & Cadwallader until the fall of 1838, when it passed into the hands of Elam B. Jewett, Dr. Daniel Lee and J. B. Clarke being engaged as editors. In May, 1839, the *Journal* was merged in the *Commercial Advertiser*, q. v.

**Buffalo Journal*. (Amateur.) April, 1845. Weekly or occasional. Published Saturdays at No. 9 Carroll street.

The *Buffalo Journal*, first issued as the *Spy*, was edited and published (April-September, 1845) by S. Rely Smith, ten-year old son of Rev. Stephen R. Smith, of Buffalo. Size of form, 2 1-8 by 2 6-8 inches, two columns to the page. This four-page journal was enlarged, Nov., 1845, to 3 by 4 in., the names of J. & R. Smith appearing as editors and printers. It was the third amateur journal in the United States. The first was a weekly, published in Philadelphia in 1812 by Thos. G. Coudie, aged 12. The second—six numbers at 12 cents per annum—was published by Nathaniel Hawthorne when a boy. The *Buffalo Journal* in 1846 became the *Ohio*, conducted by Rely Smith and Sebastian Everett. The latest issue in the Historical Society collection is dated July 6, 1847. Rely Smith died at the age of 16. (See facsimile reproduction).

Buffalo Journal. (Ger.) 1863. Daily, by Nauert, Hansmann & Co., West Seneca street, near Main. Continued about three years. Sold to Ph. H. Bender and merged in the German *Telegraph*. In 1864, when Dr. Carl De Haas was editor, although the organ of German Radicals, it supported Lincoln.

The *Journal*. 1873. Monthly. Published by W. T. Horner, 253 Washington street. "Devoted to temperance and literature." Ceased about 1877.

*The *Buffalo Journal*. Ca. 1890. Weekly. Published Thursdays by the Journal Publishing Co., 192 E. Ferry street. "Devoted to the interests of Cold Spring District." (Vol. VIII., 1897).

†The *Morning Journal*. Oct. 28, 1897. Daily. Issued by The *Times*, which announced: "There is absolute need of a Democratic morning paper in Buffalo just now to give the people the real news of the campaign." Discontinued after the election of Nov. 2, 1897. See *Buffalo Evening Times*.

*The *Journal*. 1902. Weekly or semi-weekly. Chas. W. Ellis, editor. Buffalo office, Beecher Building; also Lackawanna office. "Official newspaper of the City of Lackawanna and town of West Seneca." In Sept., 1913, it was designated as the official paper of the Kensington Business Men's Ass'n.

†**Buffalo Journal and General Advertiser*. 1829-1833. Weekly. Wednesdays, by E. J. Roberts; succeeded by Day, Follett & Haskins.

**Buffalo Journal and Mercantile Advertiser*. 1826. Weekly, by David M. Day. See *Buffalo Journal* (1821).

Buffalo Journal and Railway Gazette, 1872. Monthly. W. T. Horner, publisher, 253 Washington street. Perhaps continued in the *Journal*, "devoted to temperance and literature," by the same publisher, started in 1873, q. v.; or in *Horner's Railway and Business Guide*, 1873-75.

The *Journal of Building*. Ca. 1883. Data lacking.

The *Journal of Commerce*. 1847. Daily, by John W. Jones. Lasted about six months.

- Buffalo Journal of Commerce.* Jan. 2, 1851. Daily, established by Jones, Matthews & Co., edited by J. A. Jones and T. C. Peters. A spirited, well edited paper, neutral in politics, and short-lived, apparently being discontinued in June, 1851.
- The Journal of Health, Ca.* 1851. Monthly, 8vo, edited by Dioclesian Lewis, M. D., published from the *Commercial Advertiser* office. In April 1852, its edition was certified to as 9,000 copies.
- Journal of Progressive Medicine.* 1870. Monthly. Drs. Coburn and Freeman, publishers, 568 Main street. Continued only a year or two.
- *Journal of the Switchmen's Union of North America.* 1898. Monthly, at 328 Brisbane Bldg., W. H. Thompson, editor; later, F. M. Cassidy, editor and manager.
- Justice.* 1882. Weekly, in the interest of organized labor. Owned by Typographical Union No. 9. John Franey and Thomas Gauley, editors. Discontinued, 1884.
- The Kalendar.* 1879. Weekly, in Episcopal church interests. Published at 194 Main street by R. M. Evans. Removed to Rochester, 1882.
- †*The Keystone.* May, 1889. Monthly, in the interest of the Buffalo Homeopathic Hospital, under auspices of the Women's Aid Society. Mrs. Jos. T. Cook, managing editor. Later by the Keystone Pub. Co. Discontinued, Jan., 1892.
- †*The Kindergarten News.* 1891-'97. Monthly, by Wm. Macomber and Louis H. Allen, 10 Exchange street. "For every one interested in child life." Later, Louis H. Allen, publisher, 10 Exchange street. Edited by Mary J. B. Wylie, L. H. Allen and others. In 1897 removed to Springfield, Mass.
- Kirchlicher Herold.* (Ger.: "Ecclesiastical Herald.") 1883. Semi-monthly. Rev. Oscar Kraft, publisher. Continued six or more years.
- Kirchliches Informatorium.* (Ger.: "Church Informer.") July 15, 1851. Semi-monthly, by Rev. J. A. A. Grabau. Official organ of the Lutheran Buffalo Synod. For the first year or so, Conrad Baer was the publisher. Discontinued 1868.
- The Knight of Labor.* By C. E. Morse. Data lacking.
- Knight of St. John.* Monthly or quarterly. M. J. Kane, editor, 43 Church street. Official organ of the Knights of St. John.
- Knowlton's Hand-Book of Business Education.* 1876. Quarterly. Published by Chas. B. Knowlton, M. D., Brown's Building.
- Knowlton's Journal of Practical Education.* 1875. Quarterly, Chas. B. Knowlton, M. D., editor and publisher. 8vo, pp. 28.
- Kukuryku.* (Polish). 1889-'91. Weekly humoristic journal published by M. J. Sadowski, edited by Henry Nagel. The title is an attempt to represent, phonetically, the crowing of a rooster.
- Kuryer Buffalowski.* (Polish: "Buffalo Courier.") A weekly, established in 1907 by a Chicago company of Jews, Max

Rabinoff, publisher. For a time they published papers in several cities, most of the pages being identical. In the Buffalo issue, one page was given to local news. S. C. Frank, editor, 1082 Broadway. Discontinued after a year or so.

Kuryer Codienny. (Polish: "Daily Courier.") 1892. Established by Joseph Zawisza. Lasted about three months.

Labor Journal. Ca. 1898. Weekly, by Buffalo Typographical Union No. 9, at No. 15 Terrace. Discontinued about 1900.

**Buffalo Labor Journal*. May, 1914. Weekly, Fridays, by the Buffalo Labor Journal Co., 22 Court street. "An exponent of the principles of Union labor, as expounded by the American Federation of Labor." F. B. Glynn, president, A. R. Hunsicker, vice-president, Frank Keough, editor and secretary-treasurer. Continued for a few months.

Labor News. Ca. 1893. Survived till 1896 or later.

**The Labor World*. 1891-92. Weekly. Official paper of the New York State Typographical Union. Published by the Buffalo Central Labor Union; J. J. Sullivan, editor.

The Ladies' Friend. 1866. Monthly. W. T. Horner, publisher. Lived about three years.

**The Ladies' Haversack*. Jan. 23 to Feb. 26, 1864; 7 nos. Published in connection with the Great Central Fair, under the auspices of the Ladies' Christian Commission for the benefit of the Army and Navy.

**The Lady*. 1890. Monthly, by the Lakeside Publishing Co., 41 Franklin street. "A fashion magazine and journal for gentlewomen." Continued five or six years.

†*The Lafayette Oracle*. Dec., 1903. By students of the Lafayette High School.

**Lake and Canal*. April, 1895. Weekly. Every Saturday at No. 14 Potter Building, by Lake & Canal Pub. Co. Edward Varian, editor. "The only paper in Buffalo devoted to the Lake marine and canal interests."

**The Lake Erie Zephyr*. 1914. Monthly during the summer; a boys' magazine, Eugene Gay Tift, editor-in-chief. Primarily for the summer colony at Derby on the Lake Shore, where the publication office is located; but printed in Buffalo, 16-18 Palace Arcade. In 1915, enlarged from 8vo to 4to.

The Lantern. July, 1909. Monthly, by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 86 Delaware avenue, Mrs. Geo. A. Baker, editor.

†*The Lark*. April, 1891. Monthly, amateur. Dwight Rockwood and Fred Rockwood, editors and proprietors, 954 Main street.

The Larkin Idea. 1900. Monthly, in the interests of the Larkin Co., Buffalo. Ill. 8vo, pp. 32, with cover.

Die Laterne. (Ger.: "The Lantern.") Feb., 1880. Socialist weekly by Emil C. Eckhart. After six months, passed to the Banner Printing Co., and issued as *Das Banner*, q. v.

Law and Gospel Tribune. 1882. Weekly. Rev. Robert Dick, publisher, 354 Main street. See *Royal Templar of Temperance*.

†*Le Couteulx Leader.* 1886. Weekly. Published Saturdays (except in July and August) by the pupils of the Deaf Mute Institute, 2253 Main street. "To the memory of L'Abbé de l'Epee, to whose charity we owe the first perfected system for the education of the deaf, this magazine is dedicated by St. Mary's Institution."

Buffalo Daily Ledger. Nov. 14, 1851. Daily. Discontinued May, 1852. Franklin B. Hubbell, editor. Thos. Richardson, proprietor, 155 Main street.

**Lektionen für Lutherische sonntagsschulen.* (Ger.: "Lessons for Lutheran Sunday Schools.") Ca. 1892. Bi-monthly, by the Lutheran Publishing Co., 214 Southampton street; in 1915, at 105 Florida street. Also an English edition.

**Lessons for Lutheran Sunday Schools.* An English edition of the above.

Library and Garden. May, 1853. Weekly. A literary and horticultural journal published for about a year by D. S. Manley & Brother, proprietors of the Buffalo Nursery. Office, Brown's Building, 2d floor.

Der Lichtfreund. (Ger.: "Friend of Light.") 1855. Weekly, by F. E. Egenter, as organ of the Free Communion. Eighteen numbers only were issued.

Buffalo Life. 1900. Weekly, by J. G. Scott, 45 N. Division street.

†*Light.* Ca. 1891. (Vol. 3, No. 1, May, 1893.) Monthly, amateur, by Frank J. Fellows, 77 Market Arcade. Ill. Formerly the *Buffalo Review*, amateur. On cover the title reads: *Light for All*.

**The Lightning Express.* Sept. 4 to 14, 1888. Daily, evenings. Published by J. N. Matthews. The office was in the southwest tower of the main exhibition building of the International Industrial Fair, held at the Hamlin Driving Park, Buffalo, Sept., 1888. As a part of the exhibit of *The Express* Mr. Matthews installed a complete newspaper plant at the exposition, and issued daily *The Lightning Express*, 8 pages, on pink paper. During the ten days of its lively — or lightning — existence, a staff of some 70 persons was employed in its production.

Lincoln School Herald. 1909. Monthly, by the Buffalo School Herald Publishing Co., Broadway corner Person street.

†*Literary Inquirer.* Jan. 1, 1833. By Wm. Verrinder. "A semi-monthly journal, devoted to literature and science. Published under the patronage of the Buffalo Lyceum." Vol. II, 1834, by Verrinder & Bacon, at 177 Main street, "opposite Cheapside." After two years it was moved to Fredonia, N. Y., and became a political and general news paper. For a few weeks in the summer of 1834 William Verrinder also published the *Daily Inquirer*, q. v. Mr. Verrinder was president of the Buffalo Typographical Society, formed in June, 1836.

**Literary Messenger*. July, 1841. Semi-monthly, by John S. Chadbourne, editor. In July, 1842, the name was changed to *Western Literary Messenger*, q. v.

The *Literary Messenger*. 1878. Weekly. Published by Hutchinson & Gatchell, 24 W. Seneca street.

Literature. Monthly, by C. W. Moulton and C. A. Wenborne. Originally started as the *Wyoming Literary Monthly*.

†The *Little Light*. June, 1892. Bi-monthly, amateur, being "new series," No. 6. The paper was earlier published at Bethlehem, Pa. In Buffalo the controlling spirits were Harry S. Sizer, editor, DeWitt Clinton and Kneeland Ball; office 136 Chippewa street.

†*Little News*. Ca. 1892. Monthly, amateur.

†The *Little World*. Nov., 1891. Monthly, amateur, by Sidney H. Woodruff and Edward J. Hatch, the latter soon dropping out; 367 Linwood avenue. A very creditable 4to, 3 cols. to the page. Among the contributors was the excellent Buffalo poet, Miss Charlotte L. Seaver.

Live Stock Farm and Fireside Journal. 1873. Monthly. Published by the Buffalo Printing Co., 200 Main street. Ceased about 1877.

Live Stock Journal. 1870. Monthly, pp. 32. E. W. Stewart, editor. Published by H. C. Springer & Co., No. 4 Coit Block. Discontinued 1876.

Daily *Live Stock Record*. Ca. 1902. Daily. A. G. Dawson, mgr. Live Stock Exchange.

Buffalo *Live Stock Review*. Ca. 1880. W. G. Webster, publisher, 194 Washington street.

†*The *Live Wire*. 1910. Published by the Chamber of Commerce. Vol. 1 was a few issues in leaflet form. Since then, a monthly magazine, 8vo, with cover.

†*The *Loan Journal*. Oct. 3, to 17, 1878. Daily. Record of the Loan Exhibition for the Buffalo General Hospital. Mrs. A. Altman, chairman of the publication committee, 168 Delaware avenue.

*The *Loco Foco*. October 11, 1836. Weekly, at 229 Main street. After a few weeks its light went out. A campaign paper, its conduct chiefly in the hands of Sylvester Chamberlain. It claimed to be especially devoted to the interests of "farmers, mechanics and workingmen," and advocated the election of Isaac S. Smith of Buffalo for Governor.

Lovejoy News. 1907. Weekly. Published Saturdays by Henry Fahey, 1107 Lovejoy street.

Der *Lügenfeind*. (Ger.: "Falsehood Foe.") 1850. Weekly. published by J. Marle. Organ of the *Freien-Christlichen Gemeinde* (Free Christian Communion). Continued about two years.

The *Lumber Trade Gazette*. 1894. Semi-monthly, by H. S. Pickett, 283 Main street. Continued several years.

- †The *Lumber World*. 1881. Monthly, by C. A. Wenborne, 13½ Swan street. About 1887, by Thos. McFaul & Jas. Nolan; by Thos. McFaul; sundry later changes, down to 1900.
- The *Buffalo Lutheran*. 1895. Monthly. Official organ of the Lutheran League of Buffalo. English edition, F. C. Gram, editor. German edition, Rev. E. Bachman, editor. Anna Winkler, business manager, 723 Ellicott street.
- The *Lutheran Pilgrim*. 1907. Monthly. Rev. Adolf T. Hanser, 214 Southampton street. Published by Emmaus Evangelical Lutheran church.
- Lutherisches Samenkorn*. (Ger.: "Lutheran seed-corn.") 1896. Bi-monthly, by the Buffalo Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Missouri Synod, 213 Southampton street.
- Lyceum Record*. 1906. Weekly, by E. R. Voorhees Publishing Co., 507 Mooney Bldg.
- †*McFaul's Factory and Dealers' Supply World*. Jan., 1892-1898. Monthly, by Thomas McFaul, 22 W. Seneca street. Devoted to machinery, engines and mill supplies.
- The *McKinley Herald*. 1905. Monthly. Published by the Tropical Development Co., 304 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, and McKinley, Isle of Pines, Pp. 4, ill.
- †*The *Magazine of Poetry*. Jan., 1889. Quarterly. Ceased 1896. Conducted and published by Chas. Wells Moulton; Miss Carrie Renfrew, Miss Ina Russelle Warren, associate editors. Merged in *Poet Lore* of Boston.
Vol. 6, No. 1, entitled: "The Poets and Poetry of Buffalo."
Other issues are similarly specialized, e. g., Vol. 6, No. 8: "The Poets and Poetry of Rochester"; Vol. 7, No. 1: "Notable Single Poems."
- †*Magnet*. Feb., 1882. Irregular, by the Buffalo Female Academy. (The Public Library has 3 vols, to June, 1884.)
- *The *Buffalo Manufacturer*. Jan., 1905. Monthly. Published under the auspices of the Manufacturers Club of Buffalo, Wm. H. Andrews, president. Millard F. Bowen, secretary.
- †*The *Masten Park Chronicle*. Nov. 9, 1899. Quarterly; conducted by the students of Masten Park High School.
- *The *Matthews-Northrup Railway Guide*. 1886. Monthly. Succeeded Baldwin's *Official Railway Guide*. Phin M. Miller, manager, 42 Exchange street.
- †**Buffalo Medical Journal*. June 1, 1845. Monthly, edited by Austin Flint, M. D. Vol. II, beginning June, 1846, bore the title *Buffalo Medical Journal and Monthly Review of Medical and Surgical Science*.
The first medical journalistic venture between New York and St. Louis. Dr. Flint, who was founder and owner as well as editor, carried it on for eight years. Dr. Sanford B. Hunt, after two years of association, succeeded him. From 1853 to 1858 he made the *Journal* famous. For causes which need not

be detailed here, but which are recorded in a historical sketch published in the *Journal* of August, 1895, the *Journal* ceased publication with the issue for May, 1860. At that time it used the title *New York Monthly Review and Buffalo Medical Journal*. In August, 1861, it was re-established by Dr. Julius F. Miner as the *Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal and Reporter*. With vol. II of the new series the word "Reporter" was dropped.

With vol. XIII., 1873, Edward N. Brush, M. D., became associate editor; with vol. XVII., 1877, Dr. W. W. Miner joined the staff. With a view to simplicity, the original name, *Buffalo Medical Journal*, was again assumed. For eighteen years Dr. Miner edited and published it, assisted as above noted. In 1879 failing health caused him to give up this work and the *Journal* was sold to a syndicate composed of Drs. Thomas Lothrop, A. R. Davidson, Herman Mynter, Lucien Howe and P. W. VanPeyma, whose service began with vol. XIX. (new series), August, 1879. With vol. XXII., the names of Drs. Howe and Mynter disappeared, and two years later Dr. VanPeyma retired, leaving the *Journal* in the hands of Drs. Lothrop and Davidson, the latter continuing as managing editor until his death, May 25, 1888. In July, 1888, Dr. Davidson's interest in the magazine as well as his functions as managing editor passed to Dr. William Warren Potter, who continued in control until his death, March 14, 1911. Since September, 1911, Dr. A. L. Benedict, editor and publisher, with a board of associate editors.

†*The *Medical Press of Western New York*. Nov., 1885. Monthly, by the Medical Press Association, Dr. Arthur M. Barker, secretary, 137 W. Tupper street. In June, '89, it was merged with the *Buffalo Medical & Surgical Journal*.

Das *Medicinisch Chirurgisches Correspondenzblatt*. This is believed to have been the first German medical journal published in America. The first number was issued in December, 1883, and it soon won a large clientage, having many subscribers, even in Germany. The editor and publisher was Dr. Marcellus Hartwig of Huron street, and he was ably assisted by Dr. Charles Weil of Genesee street, who also contributed several highly interesting original articles, and by Prof. Hugo Erichsen of Detroit. Owing to the great amount of labor involved, in addition to their private practices, the editors suspended publication with the July, 1885, issue; but its successor soon appeared in New York City, long published under the name of *Medizinische Monatsschrift* by the Medical Monthly Publishing Company.

Buffalo, therefore, is the city which can claim the honor of being the place which gave birth to German medical literature in America, and to Drs. Hartwig and Weil belongs the honor of having been the pioneers in this field.

**Men of Buffalo*. 1900. Weekly (except July and August). Published by the Board of Directors, Central Dept., Buffalo Young Men's Christian Association. Succeeded the *Monthly Bulletin*. Successive editors have been Wm. F. Hirsch, Frank H. Thatcher, Will J. Green, E. E. Van Natter, Wallace N. Berry.

†*The *Mental Elevator*. See "*Ne Jaguhnigoageswathak*."

*Daily *Mercantile Courier*. Oct. 1, 1842. Joseph Stringham, editor and proprietor. It succeeded the *Democratic Economist*. In July, 1846, the *Daily National Pilot* was merged with it. See *Courier*.

†The *Mercantile Courier and Democratic Economist*. Jan., 1842. Theodotus Burwell bought the daily *Star* and weekly *Republican*, and renamed them as above, with Henry White as editor. In Oct., 1842, Joseph Stringham bought the property and changed the name of the daily to *Mercantile Courier*, *q. v.*

Mercantile and Fraternal Times. Data lacking.

†*Daily *Mercantile Review*. 1883. Daily. Issued Saturdays by Chas. H. Webster, publisher and proprietor. Later ('85) issued as Daily, Semi-weekly and Tri-weekly *Mercantile Review*, office 16 Nichols alley; still later, 63 Carroll street. "Devoted to the commercial interests of Buffalo."

*Daily *Mercury*. Nov., 1838. Daily, semi-weekly, weekly, by Thos. L. Nichols, editor and proprietor. Started in opposition to the *Buffalonian*, but in 1839, by consolidation, they became *Daily Mercury and Buffalonian*.

Buffalo Mercury. 1886. Weekly. Published Saturdays by Wm. J. McCahill, 81 Seneca street. Short-lived.

**Meridian Light*. May, 1841. "Published daily at 12 o'clock M., at Buffalo, N. Y. Three dollars per annum." Size of page, 3 by 5½ inches. See facsimile reproduction.

†The *Messenger*. June, 1892. Monthly, amateur. W. A. and F. C. Rupp, editors and proprietors, 47 E. Utica street.

*The *Messenger*, St. Mary's-on-the-Hill. 1912. Monthly, except July-August, by the magazine committee, St. Mary's-on-the-Hill. Ralph M. Moseley, editor.

The *Meteor*. 1883. Monthly, amateur, by Harry J. Mulford, 23 Prospect avenue.

*The *Mill Furnisher*. Feb. 1, 1912. Monthly. "A reference book of machinery, appliances, supplies, etc., for free circulation among flour, feed and cereal mills, elevators, etc." Issued by the Roller Mill Pub. Co., Marine Bank Bldg. Successor to the *Roller Mill*, *q. v.*

†The *Milling World*. 1880-1897. Monthly, by Chas. A. Wenborne, No. 1 Lewis Block. Later by McFaul & Nolan.

*Der *Missourier*. (Ger.) Monthly. Religious journal published by the Buffalo Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Missouri Synod, 212 Peckham street.

*Der *Mitarbeiter*. (Ger.: "The Fellow Laborer.") 1896. Monthly. Rev. G. Berner, editor, 148 Watson street. Published by the German Christian Endeavor Societies.

†*The *Modern Age*. Jan., 1893. Monthly, by the Modern Age Pub. Co., 16 E. Seneca street, Buffalo. Conducted by Jas. S. Metcalfe.

A magazine of 60 or more pages to the issue, containing translations of novels, reviews, etc., from foreign sources, and excellent original departments devoted to literature and the drama. This creditable periodical flourished in Buffalo for some years, with a branch office in New York City.

*The *Modern Pharmacist*. "Vol. 14," 1913. Monthly. Small 4-p. paper published for R. S. Fowler, Auburn avenue and Baynes street.

†The *Monitor*. 1891. Monthly, amateur. G. J. and N. S. Riesenfeld, editors and proprietors, 90 Tracy street.

*The *Monitor*. June, 1914. Monthly. "A magazine of current facts for employers, published by Associated Industries of New York State." E. J. Barcalo, president; Mark A. Daly, editor; White Building. 8vo, ill., pp. 40.

Monthly Bulletin. See *Bulletin*, various.

*The *Monument and Cemetery Review*. Sept., 1915. Monthly. Harry A. Bliss, publisher, Main and Eagle streets; removed in October to No. 1000 Elmwood avenue. A handsome, artistically illustrated 4to devoted to mortuary memorials and allied topics.

The *Moon*. 1839. Daily evening penny paper published at the *Buffalonian* office in Ellicott Square—the old buildings so named, built in 1833. Apparently issued only during the summer of 1839. No file of it known.

The *Moonbeam*. 1877-'78. Amateur paper conducted by W. F. Boysen, 165 Genesee street.

Moose Topics. Ca. 1910 to May, 1911. Monthly, for members of Buffalo Lodge No. 8, Loyal Order of Moose. Fire in the club rooms, Dec., 1911, destroyed what was probably the only complete file of this periodical.

Der *Morgenroethe*. (Ger.: "Aurora.") 1853. Weekly, conducted by Rev. G. Scheibel, pastor of the Free Communion. Short-lived.

*The *Buffalo Motorist*. 1908. Monthly. Published by the Automobile Club of Buffalo. Official organ of the Automobile Club of Buffalo, the Buffalo Launch Club, the Aero Club, the Buffalo Motorcycle Club. Dai H. Lewis, chairman of publication committee. Office (1915) Lafayette Hotel.

†*The *Municipality and County*. Oct., 1894-1897. Monthly. Published on the 15th of every month by the Niagara Publishing Co., 202 Main street. A. B. Kellogg, editor; John Henry Wood, associate editor; M. J. True, business manager. "A monthly journal of practical information for municipalities and counties and parties dealing with the same."

The *Nardin Academy*. 1914. Quarterly. Conducted by a board of editors chosen from the student body.

*The *Narrator*. 1904. Monthly (except July and August), by the Young Women's Christian Association, Mohawk and Pearl streets. Miss Ruth Walbridge, editor.

NE JAGUH NICO AGESWATHAH

Do'eyowé Ganok'daysh. Oh noot'ah 27, 1842.
Dagaidóógoh 4.

THE MENTAL ELEVATOR.
Buffalo-Creek Reservation, April 27, 1842.
Number 4.

"Neh nent'ah neh éam'gwi'h'ek; neh nonáh éh-
sáadah éra'y'ah neh éhshoh éa.wé n'ah'ek.
"Neeh'háh ne ga'wi'h'ek; nehkuh
ne gaya'neah, yontchíndíah'gwah; nehkuh
na'yagúh'ah, deyiúh'ah; nehkuh
Oyadóh'ah'gwah, nehkuh
ve:to 6: 22, 23.



Do'eyowé Ganok'daysh. Oh noot'ah 22, 1842.
Dagaidóógoh 7.

"Neh nent'ah d'ham'haak neh éam'gwi'h'ek neh nonáh éh-
sáadah éam'yah'ah'neah: neh nonáh éhshoh éa.wé n'ah'ek.
"Neeh'háh ne ga'wi'h'ek; nehkuh
ne gaya'neah, yontchíndíah'gwah; nehkuh
na'yagúh'ah, deyiúh'ah; nehkuh
Oyadóh'ah'gwah, deyiúh'ah; nehkuh
ve:to 6: 22, 23.

THE MENTAL ELEVATOR.
Buffalo-Creek Reservation, April 22, 1842.
Number 7.

"THE MENTAL ELEVATOR"

Showing two styles of heading. Reduced one-third.
See page 247.

The *National*. 1870. Monthly. National Business Exchange Co., publishers, 4 Coit Block. Short-lived.

*The *National Advocate*. 1893. Weekly. Democratic. Published every Saturday by Green & Curtis, 299 Washington street. Geo. L. Curtis, editor; Alfred Green, city editor. "Devoted to the interests of colored Americans."

The *National Coopers' Journal*. 1885. Monthly. By John A. McCann, 12 Exchange Bldg. Devoted to the cooperage industry. Removed to Philadelphia about 1900.

*The *National Monthly*. May, 1909. Monthly. Norman E. Mack, editor and publisher. "A Democratic magazine for men and women."

*The *National Odd Fellow*. 1889. Weekly. Hunt & Kraft, 29 Seneca street, later Kraft & Stern, editors and proprietors, 363-365 Washington street. "Devoted to the promotion of Odd Fellowship." See *Odd Fellow's Magazine*.

†The *National Pilot*. Feb., 1845. Daily and Weekly, by Bradford A. Manchester and Jas. O. Brayman, the latter and R. W. Haskins serving as editors. The *Pilot* was a successor of the *Gazette* of 1842, but, like it, was short-lived. In 1846 it was united with the *Courier*, and the *Courier and Pilot* was published by Stringham, Manchester & Brayman, until sold to Robert D. Foy & Co., Feb. 18, 1848.

The aim of the *Pilot* was to foster the national feeling among Americans and make them "freer from English influence in their literature, their science, their political economy, and their views of the political and social condition of the world at large." It supported President Tyler's administration. Mr. Haskins retired from the editorship of the *Pilot* in 1846, shortly before it was merged with the *Courier*.

The *Pilot* was the first paper printed in Buffalo on a cylinder press.

*The *National Star*. 1883. Monthly, amateur, by M. F. Boechat and J. J. Ottinger, editors, 72 Commercial street.

The *National Union*. In August, 1854, H. H. Whitcomb issued a prospectus of the *National Union*, a proposed monthly journal. No copy has been seen by the compiler.

The *Natural Gas Journal*. Jan., 1907. Monthly, by Periodicals Publishing Co., 64 Pearl street. Begun in New York City, removed to Buffalo, October, 1910. Lucius S. Bigelow, president-editor.

†*Ne Jaguhnigoageswathah*. (*Seneca*: "The Mental Elevator.") Nov. 30, 1841. Occasional. A small 8-p. paper printed in Seneca and English, at the Mission Press, Buffalo Creek Reservation (now South Buffalo) by the missionary, Rev. Asher Wright. Nine numbers were issued up to April, 1845. In 1846, the Mission Press was removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation, where ten more numbers were issued, the last one April 15, 1850.

Unique in American journalism. The printed page is 6 by 3¼ inches. With the sixth issue, Dec. 29, 1842, it appeared with an

engraved heading, which included the Seneca name of the paper, as above (many of the letters having special accents) and an emblematic device thus described by the editor:

"The present number of our paper has been necessarily delayed for a long time in consequence of the absence from home and the numerous engagements of the editor. Meanwhile the printer has been at work preparing to give our readers a more respectably-appearing sheet. He has engraved, on wood, a new head, with an emblematic picture, intended to convey an important piece of instruction. The design is also his own as well as the execution.

"On the left-hand side is a specimen of Indian life as it was centuries ago. The forest, the lake, the wigwam, are all there, and there too may be seen the huge wild beast just emerging from the thicket, while at the same moment the stalwart Indian, ready with his arrow on the string, marks him for instant destruction. He appears in the regular ancient style, with his large tuft of feathers on his head, and no clothing to hide his nakedness, except the cloth or skin about his loins.

"In the counterpart of the picture, on the right side, there is a flourishing village of civilized Indians, with their handsome meeting-house, academy, and other public buildings; and an old Indian chief, comfortably clad, with his cane in his hand, stands pointing out to his friend the wonderful changes in the condition of his people brought about by civilization and Christianity. He is showing him how the same ground which before barely furnished enough to support a single family, now, by the skillful cultivation of the soil, yields not only a surer and better support, but also furnishes the means of wealth to a whole village of industrious, regular, contented and happy inhabitants.

"In the middle, and occupying the chief place in the picture, stands a pulpit with a Bible lying open on the top and the light streaming out from it in every direction. This is to show that religion lies at the foundation of all real improvement in the condition of mankind, and in the source of all the light of truth enjoyed by the most favored nations; while the picture of an old-fashioned meeting-house on the front side of the pulpit reminds us that it always has been so from ancient times. Religion has always elevated the human mind and improved the civil, social, and individual character and condition wherever it has been heartily received and truly followed.

"As you look at the picture, then resolve, in the strength of the Lord, to lay hold on all the advantages offered you by the Gospel, and by the education and civilization which follow in its train."

The foregoing is a good illustration of the moral instruction which Missionary Wright never failed to impart. The *Mental Elevator* aimed at all its name implies. Some numbers were printed wholly in Indian, others in both Indian and English. Their contents include, beside moral and instructive prose and poetry, the Book of Genesis and a part of Exodus, in Seneca; the Lord's Prayer in Tuscarora verse; hymns, the laws by

which the tribes were governed, legislative acts relating to them, mortuary records, etc. The printer referred to, who was the engraver of the heading for the paper, was Mr. Benjamin C. Van Duzee.

Missionary Wright's explanation of the typographic difficulties with which he had to contend, is interesting: "It is not to be supposed" he says, "that with our imperfect knowledge of Seneca we have discovered and marked accurately all the peculiarities of the language. It is sometimes, also, very difficult to decide on the correct usage, where there are differences of pronunciation among the Indians. In such cases we have sought for the pure Seneca in contradistinction from the idioms of Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, etc., and for Seneca as spoken by the old men, whose habits were formed previous to the introduction of English ideas and modifications of ideas, among the people." Again, he writes:

"To those who may be inclined to criticise the style of our printing, we would remark that we have no Italic type, and but one size of Roman letter. Several of the accented capitals also are wanting, punches not having been cut for them when the accented type was prepared, in Boston some years since, for printing Seneca. . . . To furnish ourselves with Italic and another size of Roman, with the capitals for each, sufficient for our little establishment, would require about \$150 before the type could be cast, and the whole expense would vary little from \$400; for the want of which we are obliged to forego the advantages of beauty and variety in style and execution of our work, and make the best we can of the facilities with which we are provided."

The file of this paper, in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society, is more nearly complete than any other known to the present compiler.

*The *N. Y. Messenger*. 1915. Occasional, by the World's Dispensary Press.

**New Age*. Feb. 27, 1915. First appeared as a "Women's Day" edition of the *Buffalo Socialist*, containing contributions by numerous women, leaders of the Suffragist movement, and others. Continued since as *New Age*, weekly, Max Sherover, managing editor. Published by the Socialist Publishing Co., Teck Theater Building.

†*New Century*. 1891. Quarterly, amateur. Conducted by F. T. Mayer, Alfred Reiser and Marshall Clinton, 54 Johnson place.

New Era Transformation Magazine. 1902. Weekly. Issued as a supplement to the *Buffalo Sunday Times*.

*The *New York Globe*. Formerly *The National Freeman*. Weekly. Vol. I, 1896, dated "Buffalo, Syracuse and Rochester." Jas. A. Roes, publisher and proprietor. 16 S. Division street.

The *Daily News*. July, 1834, being the third daily in Buffalo, preceded only by the *Western Star* and the *Rising Sun*, both started

in July, 1834. The *News* was issued from the office of the *Buffalo Whig*, and was discontinued in Aug., 1834.

†**Buffalo Sunday Morning News*. 1873, by John B. Adams and Edward H. Butler, the latter becoming sole owner; 200 Main street. See *Buffalo Evening News*.

†**Buffalo Evening News*. Oct. 11, 1880. Daily. E. H. Butler, proprietor. The *Sunday Morning News*, established 1873, and from 1880 continued in connection with the daily, was the first Sunday paper in Buffalo to survive many years. It was discontinued Jan. 3, 1915. The *Telegraph*, founded 1880, was bought, Aug., 1885, by E. H. Butler and J. A. Butler, and merged in their *Evening News*, the first consolidated issue being on Aug. 18, 1885. In 1881 the *News* moved from 214 to 218 Main street, and in 1898 took possession of its new building, Nos. 216-218 Main street, erection of which was begun in 1896. On the death of the founder of the paper, March 9, 1914, proprietorship passed to his son, E. H. Butler, 2d.

With the first issue of the *Evening News* William McIntosh was managing editor, and continued in that service many years, his active connection with the paper ceasing shortly before his death, Dec. 10, 1910. A writer of true poetry, he was exceptionally capable under all the varied demands of newspaper work.

Niagara. (Ger.) Aug., 1898. Sundays. A Catholic paper, published and edited by W. Keilmann. Short-lived.

**Niagara Current*. 1914. Monthly, for agents of the Niagara Life Insurance Co. The issue of Sept., 1915, (Vol. II., No. 8) was a special edition "to the people of Buffalo in connection with Buffalo's Industrial Exposition."

**Niagara Journal*. July, 1815. Weekly, by David M. Day. The second paper published in Buffalo. In 1820, when the present Erie County was set off from Niagara, the paper became the *Buffalo Journal*, *q. v.*

†**The Niagara Patriot*. 1819, by H. A. Salisbury. It was the continuation of the *Buffalo Gazette*. After the erection of Erie County, in 1820, it was changed, July, 1821, to the *Buffalo Patriot*, *q. v.*

**The Niagara Rainbow*. 1898. Quarterly during the college year by the students of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in North America. Issued from the Union & Times Press, Buffalo.

**The Norm*. November, 1885. Amateur, monthly, by M. F. Boechat, editor and publisher, 31 Arcade.

†*Normal Thought*. 1894-'96. Monthly, by the Standard Society of the State Normal School in Buffalo.

The North and South. 1883. Monthly. Published at 191 Main street. Devoted to emigration. J. T. McLaughlin, Academy of Music Building. Discontinued about 1890.

†*The Northern Druggist*. 1897. Monthly, by the Northern Druggist Publishing Co., 483 Washington street.

- †*Nell's Secundus*. Ca. 1891. Monthly, amateur, by John J. Ottinger, 149 Arkansas street. (Vol. III, No. 1, June, 1892.)
- La Nuova Patria*. (Ital.: "The New Country.") Single issue published at 332 Seneca street, by F. Magnani, Nov. 3, 1907.
- †**Odd Fellows Magazine*. January, 1900. Monthly, Chas. D. Bigelow, editor and proprietor. January, 1902, it became *Fraternity*, and ceased March, 1902.
- †*The Buffalo Official*. 1890. Monthly, amateur. Frank J. Fellows, editor, 913 Niagara street. "Official organ of the Buffalo Amateur Journalists' Club." Later editors were Arthur S. Mann, 37 Allen street, and Elma A. Johnson, 392 Delaware avenue. In September, 1892, the *Buffalo Official* became a supplement to the *Twinkling Star*. In 1892 this paper states that there are 25 amateur journals published in Buffalo, "more than any other city in the world."
- †**Official Daily Program* of the Pan-American Exposition. May 1, to Nov. 2, 1901. Published by the Pan-American Program Co., Frank J. Stockbridge, manager, 34 Wells street. No issues for Sept. 14, the day of President McKinley's death, Sept. 15, (Sunday), and Sept. 19, the day of the funeral, the Exposition being closed on those days.
- **Official Railway and Steamship Guide*. 1903. Monthly, by the Niagara Frontier Publishing Co., 1048 Ellicott Square, C. R. Hurley, manager.
- Ojczyzna*. (Polish: "Country.") July 22, 1885. Weekly, at 46 Broadway, by the Polish Publishing Ass'n (Ltd.). The first Polish newspaper in Buffalo, edited by Stanislaus Slisz. In 1887, under the editorship of M. J. Sadowaki, the name was changed to *Polak w Ameryce*, q. v., and moved to 126 Townsend street.
- Old School Jeffersonian*. 1842. Issued by Charles Faxon, 2d, as the weekly edition of the daily *Gazette*, q. v. It was an ardent supporter of the administration of President Tyler. Discontinued, Feb., 1843.
- **The Ohio*. 1846-47. Weekly. Amateur paper, published Saturdays, S. Rely Smith and Sebastian Everett, editors. Size of page, 3 by 4 inches.
- "*On the Square*." October, 1905. Monthly. Organ of the Niagara Square Congregational Church, Rev. T. Aird Moffat, minister. Small 8vo, with cover.
- **Once a Month*. 1895. Published by Emmanuel Baptist church.
- The Open Door*. Jan. 1, 1899. Bi-weekly in the interests of the First Universalist Society, church of the Messiah. Special "Fair Edition," December 5, 1899. Succeeded by *Words of Cheer*.
- **The Opera*. March 23, 1898. Published by C. A. Ellis, ill., 8vo, devoted to Wagnerian opera. Only a few numbers issued.
- **Opportunity*. Nov., 1908. Monthly, by the Western New York Publishing Co., 906 D. S. Morgan Bldg. Geo. W. Harrison,

president. A magazine devoted chiefly to industrial progress and the promotion of "independent" (as opposed to the Bell) telephone interests in Western New York. Soon discontinued.

L'Ora. (Ital.: "The Hour.") Weekly. Three political issues of a four-page paper published at 164 W. Huron street, Oct. 12, 19, 26, 1912.

†*The Oracle.* 1903. Five times a year, by the students of Lafayette High School, under supervision of the head of the department of English. Philip Becker Goetz and Charles Elbert Rhodes of the faculty served as advisory editors. Notable special numbers have been devoted to the lives of Lafayette, Lincoln, Dickens, etc.

**The Orator.* 1856. Monthly. Later (1859) apparently quarterly. Edited by D. T. Stiles.

Osa. (Polish: "The Wasp.") 1904. Weekly. Humorous. Stanley Kozello Poklewski, editor, 1023 Broadway. Continued about a year. The editor's name is said to have been an assumed one, to conceal his identity as a political refugee much wanted in Russia.

Our Church Paper. Ca. 1899. Monthly, Rev. F. A. Kahler, editor.

**Our Church Record.* Sept. 12, 1896. Weekly, by the Jefferson street church of Christ. It succeeded *The Christian Sower*, and March 7, 1897, became *Upward*.

†*Our Church at Work.* Jan., 1881. Monthly (10 issues per annum), by the Lafayette avenue Presbyterian church. Beginning vol. V. (Jan., '86), under the auspices of the Young Men's Ass'n of the church; size reduced from 8 to 4 pp. Later enlarged (8vo, pp. 16, with cover), published by the Emerson Bible Class for Men of the Lafayette avenue church. It claims to be the oldest church paper in the United States now published.

†*Our Church Work.* Dec. 7, 1877-1885. Semi-monthly or monthly. Official paper of the Protestant Episcopal church, Diocese of Western New York. Established as semi-monthly; published by W. I. Thurstone, Beecher Building, Ellicott and S. Division streets. See *Church Work*.

†*Our Flag.* Ca. 1892. Monthly, amateur.

†*Our Good Samaritan.* Sept., 1898. Monthly, conducted by C. G. Buell. "Devoted to the promotion of true fraternity."

†*Our Leisure Moments.* Feb., 1870. Monthly juvenile, by Albert C. Ives and Fred S. Dellenbaugh, Y. M. Ass'n Building. 8vo, pp. 16. 75 cents per year. Here first appeared as serial Dellenbaugh's story, "The Young Hero, or Adventures of Frank Hardy." Discontinued, 1871.

†*Our Paper.* Nov., 1891. Monthly, by and for scholars of Public School No. 18. F. J. Fellows, editor, School street and Fargo avenue. A creditable school paper, longer-lived than many.

†*Our Presbytery Monthly.* Feb. 1, 1894. Continued about three years. New series of the *Buffalo Presbytery News*, vol. 3, Feb.,

1894. Monthly. Published by the editorial committee of the Presbytery of Buffalo, at 195 Main street.
- Our Railroad Men.* 1887. Monthly, by the Railroad Dept., Y.M.C.A.
- †**Our Record.* 1869. Monthly. Published for the Home for the Friendless, 1500 Main street. Has had various changes of form.
- Our Shield.* 1915. By the Sabbath School of Temple Beth Zion.
- †**Our Sunday-school at Work.* Nov., 1894. Monthly, in the interest of the Milnor street Mission, under auspices of the Christian Workers' Ass'n.
- †*Our Work.* June 21, 1884. Monthly, in the interest of Calvary Presbyterian church.
- †*Our Work in the Presbytery of Buffalo.* Dec., 1891.
- Our Young Folks.* Ca. 1872. By Albert C. Ives. Data lacking. Mr. Ives was a reporter on the *Express*.
- Our Young Men's Paper.* 1871. By the Y.M.C.A. I. G. Jenkins, publisher. Short-lived. Re-established 1876.
- †**The Pan-American.* March 9, 1899. Weekly, then monthly. "A journal of international trade and an illustrated history of the Pan-American Exposition of 1901." Published Thursdays by the Pan-American Pub. Co., first at 707 Mutual Life Bldg. With vol. I, No. 5 (Oct., 1899) Richmond C. Hill became editor and the publication was enlarged and changed from an uncertain weekly to a monthly, adding to its name the word "magazine." Other changes followed.
- †**The Pan-American Herald.* July, 1899. Semi-monthly, then monthly. An illustrated magazine devoted to the interest of the Pan-American Exposition. Published by the Pan-American Herald Co., corner Seneca street and Terrace. Various changes of editorial management and control.
- *Pan-American International Gazette.* See *International Gazette*.
- †**The Pan-American Magazine.* 1899. Monthly, succeeding the *Pan-American* (q. v.). In 1900, published by the Pan-American Magazine Co., 532-534 Ellicott Square. Ceased with vol. III., 1901. A handsome and for the most part well-edited pictorial record of the Pan-American Exposition.
- The Pansy.* 1891. Monthly, amateur. Harry and Josiah Jewett, editors, 303 North street.
- Parish News.* 1910. Monthly, by the Church of the Ascension.
- *Park Church Herald.* 1905. Published "every little while" by the Christian Endeavor Society of the Park Presbyterian Church, Crescent avenue and Elam place, Buffalo; later (1906) as a church bulletin, by the pastor, Rev. P. A. Macdonald.
- *The Parkside Press.* 1904. Occasional. Neighborhood news and advertising.
- Buffalo Pathfinder.* 1852. Weekly, by Charles Faxon, published 140 Main street. Soon disappeared.

- La Patria*. (Ital.: "The Fatherland.") March 30, 1912. Weekly, at 213 Court street. Silvio Tremante, editor. It lasted but six weeks.
- †**The Buffalo Patriot*. 1820. Weekly. Successor of the *Buffalo Gazette* and the *Niagara Patriot*, *q. v.* It was successively under the editorial charge of Wm. A. Carpenter, Harvey Newcomb and Guy H. Salisbury. See *Buffalo Daily Commercial Advertiser*.
- **Buffalo Patriot and Commercial Advertiser*. Jan. 7, 1834, succeeding the *Buffalo Weekly Patriot*. See *Commercial Advertiser*. For many years the weekly issue bore the title, *Patriot and Journal*.
- **Täglicher Buffalo Patriot*. (Ger.: "Buffalo Daily Patriot.") 1857. Daily. Vogt & Jung, proprietors, E. Lindermann, editor, over 157 Main street. Lived about a year.
- The Pennsylvania*. Ca. 1900. Weekly, by Scott Publishing Co., 45 N. Division street.
- **Buffalo Penny Press*. 1841. Daily. By William Hilliard Busteed, 194 Main street.
- Penton's Scientific Farmer and Literary Magazine*. 1871. Office, Hollister Bldg.
- **The People*. Feb. 19, 1898. Weekly. Harger & Poole, publishers and proprietors, 457 Washington street. Chas. G. Harger, Jr., editor. "This paper is established because the people demand fearless discussions of live questions." (Salutatory).
- †*The People's Advocate*. July 21, 1892. Weekly. Organ of the People's Party. Published every Thursday at 496 Main street by the Advocate Printing Ass'n. Board of editors, C. M. Maxson, J. M. Potter, H. B. Buddenburg, J. E. Dean. At first it was a 16-pp. paper, two cols. to the page; in 1893 changed to newspaper form and moved to 551 Main street; conducted by B. M. Shultz, Chas. H. Fryer, editor. In 1894, published by Schoepflin & Foster, 84 Terrace. Continued several years, as the organ of the Populists.
- **The People's Medical Monthly*. 1893. Monthly. F. E. DeCoursey, publisher; John H. Dye, M. D., editor. "Devoted to the dissemination of timely, useful, instructive and reliable information on all subjects relating to health and disease, for all mankind."
- **The People's Saturday Evening Pictorial Press*. 1886. Weekly. Published by Matthews, Northrup & Co., 42 Exchange street. Jas. S. Metcalfe, editor and business manager. A 16-p. illustrated journal, issued Saturdays; stories, fashions, juvenile dept., etc. Worthy but short-lived.
- **The Period*. Jan., 1897. Monthly. J. S. Hubbard, publisher, 34-38 Ellicott street. "In the interest of club women."
- **The Period of Progress*. 1897. Monthly. "A magazine for club women." Official organ of the Federation of Women's Literary and Educational Organizations of Western New York, J. S. Hubbard, editor and publisher, 38 Ellicott street.

- The *Phalanx*. 1840. Daily and weekly, by Chas. D. Ferris. Lasted about six weeks. It was the first daily paper published in America devoted exclusively to the advocacy of the social reform, and reorganization of labor, originated and taught by Charles Fourier and Albert Brisbane, and what have been denominated the doctrines of "Association."
- **Le Phare des Lacs*. (French: "Lighthouse of the Lakes.") 1858. Weekly, Thursdays. Published by Claude Petit, Bapst's Building. Discontinued about 1877.
- *The *Buffalo Philanthropist*. Feb., 1836. Monthly. 8vo, pp. 16, by Nathaniel Potter, Jr., and Z. Ferris. It advocated, among other things, "universal peace and non-resistance." One year closed its labors of love.
- The *Buffalo Philatelic Press*. 1890. Monthly, by Edward J. Fischbach and Wm. B. Wemple, at 108 Spruce street. Of short career.
- †The *Philistine*. 1895. Monthly. A literary journal issued from 640 Ellicott Square. Published until about 1903.
- **Photo Play Topics*. See *Photo Play Vogue*. In Oct., 1915, changed from semi-monthly to monthly.
- **Photo Play Vogue*. Aug. 20, 1915. Semi-monthly (5th and 20th of each month), by Photo Play Vogue, Inc., Ellicott Square, Frederic J. Knoll, editor. An attractive illustrated magazine in the interest of the photo-play business. With the issue of Sept. 20 it became *Photo Play Topics*.
- †The *Physicians' and Surgeons' Investigator*. Jan., 1880. Monthly. "Edited by the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Published by the Association of Physicians and Surgeons," office 51 W. Genesee street. The first editors were Drs. S. W. Wetmore and S. N. Brayton. In 1888, L. A. Bull, M. D., manager and editor; George T. Moseley, business manager. Not continued after 1890.
- Pierce-Arrow Salesman*. 1915. Monthly, for employes of the Pierce-Arrow automobile company.
- Der *Pilger*. (Ger.: "The Pilgrim.") 1907. Monthly, by Emmaus Lutheran church, 210 Southampton street.
- Buffalo Daily Pilot*. See *The National Pilot*.
- †The *Pioneer Coöperator*. March 1, 1886. Monthly, with the motto "Each for all, all for each," "devoted to the principles of coöperation," and the special organ of the Buffalo Pioneer Coöperative Association, L. G. Hedges, business manager, Wm. Gnard, secretary of the Board of Directors. Printed partly in English, partly in German. Not known to have continued after December, 1887. (Vol. II. No. 8.)
- †Der *Pioneer Koöperator*. Title of the German pages of The *Pioneer Coöperator*, q. v.
- **Pittsburger Beobachter*. (Ger.: "The Pittsburg Observer.") Ca. 1910. Weekly. Published Fridays at 46 Broadway, in the interest of St. Joseph's orphanage. For some years issued from a Buffalo office; later removed to Pittsburg.

- **Plymouth Bulletin*. Dec., 1901. Weekly. Published by Plymouth Congregational church, Military road and Grote street.
- *The *Plymouth Bulletin*. Sept. 12, 1915. Weekly. Published by the Plymouth Methodist Episcopal church. Rev. Wm. S. Mitchell, D.D., pastor. Church office, No. 443 Porter avenue.
- **Polak w Ameryce*. (Polish: "The American Pole.") 1837. Semi-weekly. Tuesdays and Fridays, at 126 Townsend street. M. J. Sadowski, editor. A daily since 1888, and for a time claimed to be "the only Polish daily in the Eastern Central States." From its establishment it was the property of Rev. J. Pitass, 389 Peckham street.
- Polak y Amerykanski*. (Polish: "The Pole in America.") 1908. Daily. Stanislaus Slisz, editor, 559 Fillmore avenue. Continued by the Buffalo Polish Publishing Co., 559 Fillmore avenue. The title was soon changed to *Dziennik dla Wszystkich*, q. v.
- †*Popular Gardening*. 1886. Monthly, by the Popular Gardening Pub. Co., Elias A. Long, editor, 202 Main street. Flourished for about a decade, then merged in *American Gardening*.
- *The *Buffalo Port and Trade List*. Oct., 1877. Monthly. W. J. Raymond, editor. W. F. Tieste, associate. Apparently under the auspices of the Buffalo Board of Trade. A large 4-p. paper.
- †**Buffalo Evening Post*. Geo. J. Bryan's *Queen City*, established, 1850; in 1852 it was renamed *Buffalo Evening Post*, and Calvin J. Mills was associate publisher and editor. In 1853, Mr. Bryan again became sole proprietor. The *Post* was continued until about 1877. In 1878 Mr. Bryan renamed his paper *The Queen City*, q. v. continuing it until 1882.
- Buffalo Post*. Ca. 1902. Monthly, by the Buffalo Post Publishing Co., Jos. Kollmeier, manager. 33 Mooney Bldg. Devoted to insurance.
- *The *Buffalo Postal Guide*. Ca. 1895. Quarterly. Published ('95) by Otis H. Kean; later by Kean & Olmsted, under authority of the Buffalo postmaster.
- †The *Postman*. April, 1891. Bi-monthly, amateur, by F. J. Fellows, 202 Whitney place. Above its heading is printed: "Supplement to the *Tomahawk*."
- †*Buffalo Presbytery News*. See *Our Presbytery Monthly*.
- Prescott's Telegraph*. 1842. Monthly. Wm. Prescott, editor and proprietor, Chas. Faxon, printer, 4 Birekhead Block, Commercial street.
- †*Buffalo Press*. 1891. Monthly, amateur. Published 285 Pennsylvania street.
- **Press Clippings*. 1895. Published by a medicine company.
- The *Daily Price Current and Live Stock Reporter*. 1884. Daily, by W. G. Webster, 106 Seneca street. Also semi-weekly and tri-weekly. Succeeded and continued the *Buffalo Live Stock Review*.
- *The *Buffalo Printer*. 1893. Monthly. Issued by the American Type Founders Co., Mackellar, Smiths & Jordan, Buffalo Branch. Continued several years.

- Process Review and Journal of Electrotyping*. Ca. 1904. Monthly, by the Professional Photographer Co., 222 Washington street, A. C. Austin, editor.
- Weekly Produce Journal*. 1894. Weekly, by Chas. H. Webster, Ellicott street corner S. Division street. In 1896, Buffalo *Weekly Produce Journal*. Continued until about 1901.
- **The Professional Photographer*. 1896. Monthly. Published by the Nesbitt Publishing Co., 220-222 Washington street. "An illustrated monthly journal for the profession." Editors, George W. Gilson and Beattie Nesbitt.
- The Professional and Amateur Photographer*. 1902. Monthly, at 222 Washington street. Flourished for several years.
- **Progress*. 1902. Weekly. Chas. M. Nichols, editor, 718 Seneca street. Later, published every Thursday at 1053 Ellicott Square. "An independent newspaper advocating trades unionism."
- **Buffalo Progressive*. Sept. 12, 1912. Weekly. Chauncey J. Hamlin, proprietor. W. J. J. Kunzie, business manager. Office, 380 Ellicott Square. In Jan., 1913, the size was reduced (4pp., 8x11 inches), and the office moved to 774 Main street. Under an incorporation, C. J. Hamlin became president, Knowlton Mixer vice-president, Walter V. Davidson, secretary and treasurer, Guy J. Evans, business manager. Discontinued, Nov., 1914.
- **The Buffalo Prohibitionist*. Nov. 2, 1882. Weekly. F. W. Luxford, editor and publisher. "A journal issued in the interest of prohibition."
- Przegląd Tygodniowy*. (Polish: "Weekly Review.") Ca. 1895. By John N. Wrzesinski, at No. 1093 Broadway. Short-lived.
- **The Pulpit*. Ca. 1886. Published at Nos. 41-43 Franklin street by Edwin Rose. A magazine of sermons. "Sunday reading for Christian families." First published elsewhere; issued in Buffalo about 1893-95.
- The Pyramid Crescent*. 1902. Quarterly, by the Pyramid Crescent Publishing Co., 85 W. Eagle street. In the interests of Gamma Sigma Fraternity.
- Pythian Herald*. 1909. Monthly. John Hornberger, editor, 392 Glenwood avenue. Published by Christopher Columbus Lodge No. 325, Knights of Pythias.
- "*Quality*." Monthly, at 44 Palace Arcade. Data lacking.
- **Quarterly Record*. 1839. "Published for the Erie County Common School Education Society."
- **The Quarterly Reporter of Young Men's Christian Associations in North America*, 1856. Published under the direction of a central committee of 18, of whom Oscar Cobb, Wm. M. Gray, E. A. Swan, Sanford Eastman and N. A. Halbert resided in Buffalo. It was a neat 8vo, 32-p., periodical, issued from the press of E. R. Jewett & Co., later the "Commercial Advertiser Steam Press." In 1858-9 the editorial work was in the hands of N. A. Halbert. The *Quarterly Reporter* developed into the *Young Men's Christian Journal*, q. v.

The first organization of the Young Men's Christian Association was in London, 1844. The first in America was in Montreal, 1851. Boston and New York took up the work in the same year. By 1854, 26 Associations had been established throughout the Union. Their first general convention, held in Buffalo, June, 1854, established an alliance of the Associations in the United States and Canada. It was as the organ of this American Federation, as it was then styled, that the *Quarterly Reporter*, and after it the *Young Men's Christian Journal*, were published.

**Daily Queen City*. Jan. 28, 1850. Daily. Published by Geo. J. Bryan at 206 Main street, over Steele's book store. Soon moved to Seneca street, then to Washington street. In 1852, it was purchased by Calvin J. Mills, and became the *Buffalo Evening Post*, *q. v.*

The *Queen City*. 1878. Weekly, Geo. J. Bryan, editor. Discontinued, 1882.

†**Queries*. 1885-92. Monthly. Conducted by C. W. Moulton. Published by C. L. Sherrill & Co., 274-276 Main street. "Devoted to literature, art, science, education." It made a feature of its prize question department.

**Quips of Buffalo*. Oct. 22, 1892. Ceased, 1893. Weekly. Published every Saturday by Quips Publishing Co., 418 Main street. Irving S. Underhill and Walter C. Nichols, editors.

**Daily Racing Form*. Issued in Buffalo daily during local race meetings. In 1915, "Fort Erie Edition," vol. I., daily except Mondays by the Daily Racing Form Pub. Co., 74 Exchange street. Also offices in other cities. An 8-p. compendium of track and turf news, popularly styled the "Dope Sheet."

**Buffalo Rail Road Guide and Business Advertiser* for the traveler, manufacturer and tradesman. 1870. Monthly, from official time-tables. E. O. Crawford & Co., 222 Washington street.

The *Buffalo Railroad News*. 1912. Semi-monthly. 35 Exchange street. In 1913, removed or discontinued.

The *Railway Magazine*. 1855. Monthly, at 177 Main street, by Geo. E. Allen & Co. Devoted to travel and transportation.

**Real Estate Agents' Daily Want Bulletin*. 1896. Daily. Published by Hubert K. Perry, 217 Real Estate Exchange.

†The *Real Estate and Builders' Monthly*. 1884. After his retirement from the *Courier* David Gray, Sr., wrote for this paper, for a short time. Published by Haas & Klein, 124 Seneca street.

†**Real Estate and Building News*. 1890. Monthly, by Sidney G. Sherwood, 73 W. Eagle street.

†**Buffalo Real Estate Bulletin and Insurance Journal*. April, 1889. Monthly, by Marsland, Willoughby & Stokes, later by the Bulletin Publishing Co., 404 Main street. Geo. H. Marsland, editor. Ceased Dec., 1889.

**Realty Record*. April, 1912. Monthly or occasional. "Devoted exclusively to East of Main street real estate and other business

- interests." Wm. J. J. Kunzie, 382 William street, editor and proprietor.
- *The *Buffalo Record*. 1893. Monthly. Lamar R. Leahy and Ed. H. Culliton, editors and proprietors.
- †The *Record*. Feb. 10, 1897. Daily. Succeeding the *Morning Enquirer*. Wm. J. Conners & Co. In May, 1897, Mr. Conners bought the *Courier*, and the *Record* was merged with it; the paper appearing May 10 as the *Courier & Record*, the last name being soon dropped.
- *The *Record*. May, 1913. Quarterly during the school year by the Buffalo State Normal school. An 8vo magazine. Agnes B. Reimann, editor-in-chief.
- †The *Recorder*. March, 1891. Monthly, amateur. Frank W. Lynes, L. O. Robeson, editors and publishers, L. A. Lynes, associate. Published 155 Allen street.
- **Red Jacket's Arrow*. Sept., 1912. In the interest of the Red Jacket Press. Otto Retter, president, 559 Washington street.
- Reforma*. (Polish: "Reform.") Weekly, succeeding *Głos Ludu* (1895), as organ of the Independent Polish church. Ceased about 1899.
- **Religious Tolerance*. 1894. Monthly. Walter C. Rice, proprietor; Arthur H. Rice, editor; Horace F. Rice, business manager. "Published in the interest of religious harmony and humanity. Our motto: 'America, Liberty, Equality.'" It was virtually in opposition to the A. P. A.
- †The *Reporter*. May, 1891. Monthly, amateur. G. G. Ballard, Jr., Marshall Robinson, editors and publishers, 271 Carolina street.
- †*The *Republic*. 1847. Daily and weekly.
- The *Republic*, the first issue of which bears date Tuesday evening, Jan. 26, 1847, was as announced in the initial issue, "published every afternoon by an association of practical printers: Geo. W. Livingston, James Albro, James S. Stridiron, P. J. Howden, Wm. F. Rogers." The business at first was carried on under the firm name of Livingston, Albro & Co.; the office in Wood & Miller's Building, "over Oliver Lee & Co.'s bank, corner of Main and Exchange streets, directly opposite the Mansion House." Feb. 23, 1847, the heading became *Buffalo Republic*, and later, *Buffalo Daily Republic*. In politics it was "decidedly and uncompromisingly Democratic." By March, Stridiron and Howden had dropped out. Beginning May 25, 1847, it was published by Quartus Graves. The daily was suspended for four days. Oct. 21, 1847, the name of E. A. Maynard first appears as its publisher and editor. He continued it as a Democratic paper, supporting the war with Mexico. In Dec., 1847, it moved to Washington street, above the postoffice, west side, and Benjamin Welch, Jr., became associated with Mr. Maynard, Geo. J. Bryan being local editor. In 1849, it moved to 14 East Seneca street. In 1854, C. C. Bristol bought the interest of E. A. Maynard & Co. In 1855, Henry W. Faxon, a humorous

writer (to whom has been ascribed, erroneously, the authorship of "Beautiful Snow"), was local editor. Here was published his famous Silver Lake snake story. In 1856 the office was moved to 186 Washington street. In 1857 the *Buffalo Daily Times* was united with the *Republic*, and under the title, *Buffalo Republic and Times* it was issued for some years as daily, tri-weekly and weekly. In 1859-60 Guy H. Salisbury was its editor. The *Republic*, in 1861, passed into the hands of Jos. Warren & Co., and was issued as a two-cent evening paper until the fall of 1881, when the price was made one cent. Thomas Kean's connection with the paper began in 1859. He was managing editor during the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1860, the paper supporting Douglas. In 1861, Mr. Kean bought Mr. Bristol's interest, selling out a few months later to Jos. Warren & Co., proprietors of the *Courier*. They continued the *Republic* as an evening paper, at first under the style of *Courier and Republic*. See *Buffalo Courier*.

Of the men who made the *Republic*, the most striking individuality was Henry W. Faxon. A member of the 24th Regiment, N. Y. Cavalry, he died at Washington, Sept. 11, 1864. A friend wrote at the time that he "was one of the most original writers the press of this city has ever known, and but for the want of proper self-discipline would have made himself a name and position far beyond the local sphere to which his labors were confined. His genius was of a peculiarly original type, but it led him into 'eccentricities' for which the world has no pity, until it is too late." For few could *Hamlet's* words be more aptly quoted: "He was a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy."

James Albro was one of the founders of The *Republic*. His brother Stephen was one of its editors, and also at one time edited *The Buffalo Republican*; and Stephen's son, James Albro, was for many years on the editorial staff of the *Commercial Advertiser*.

*The *Buffalo Republic and Progress*. 1899. Weekly. Published Thursdays by the Progress Publishing Co., 31 Church street. Jos. B. Ford, president. Independent.

†*The *Buffalo Republic and Times*. 1857. See The *Republic*.

La *Repubblica*. (Ital.: "The Republic.") Oct. 23, 1897, at the Jones Printing Co., corner Ellicott and S. Division streets. Wednesdays and Saturdays. A political publication; only a few issues.

†*The *Buffalo Republican*. March 26, 1828. Weekly. Democratic. Wm. P. M. Wood, publisher. The first Democratic paper published in this county.

In Sept., 1828, Smith H. Salisbury and Wm. H. Snow bought it; in April, 1829, Mr. Salisbury became sole owner. In 1830 ownership passed to Henry L. Ball, and in 1831 to Charles Faxon and Jas. Stryker, the latter acting as editor. October, 1834, Charles Faxon became sole owner, with Horatio Gates editor. In the spring of 1835 Charles Faxon bought the *Bulletin*.

which he merged with the *Republican*, and continued the publication of the *Daily Star*, the weekly edition being the *Buffalo Republican and Bulletin*. Daily and weekly at this period were published at 156 Main street, Mr. Gates acting as editor. In 1836 the name of Charles Faxon appears with that of H. Gates, as editor; in August, Mr. Gates was succeeded by Wm. L. Crandall. The office was burned, Dec., 1838, and it was not until February, 1839, that Quartus Graves issued the *Buffalo Weekly** and *Daily Republican*, as continuations respectively of the *Weekly Republican and Bulletin* and the *Daily Star*. In 1840 Stephen Albro succeeded Mr. Gates as editor of the *Republican*, and was succeeded, April, 1841, by Samuel Caldwell, he being soon succeeded by J. C. Bunner. In Dec., 1841, Theodotus Burwell bought out Mr. Graves and changed the name of the daily (Jan., 1842) to the *Daily Mercantile Courier and Democratic Economist*, q. v.

**Buffalo Republican and Bulletin*. 1835. Weekly, Saturdays; Chas. Faxon, proprietor, Faxon & Gates, editors. See *Buffalo Republican*.

†*Republicano*. (Ital.: "The Republican.") Oct. 18, 1913. A political journal, for the campaign.

Der *Taegliche Republikaner*. (Ger.: "Daily Republican.") Established Oct. 15, 1875. Daily, by Ismar S. Ellison. Continued with the *Sunday Tribune* as its weekly Sunday edition until Jan. 1, 1878, when the property was acquired by the German Republican Printing Association.

The *Resorter*. Weekly and monthly. A society paper (succeeding The *Summer Resorter* and The *Winter Resorter*), published at 640 Ellicott Square.

†The *Buffalo Review*. May 23, 1892. Every other Saturday. Amateur, 78 School street. "The only amateur paper in New York that has an office of its own." In Sept., 1892, F. J. Fellows was editor; R. H. McKibbin, business manager; F. W. Lynes, circulator. The *Buffalo World*, amateur, combined with it. By use of plate matter, cuts, and cover, it developed more than most amateur journals, and for some months proclaimed itself "a fortnightly journal of progress and advancement." June 25, 1892, it enlarged and moved to 913 Niagara street, and July 30, became the *Illustrated Buffalo Review*.

The *Illustrated Buffalo Review*. 1892. Amateur. Consolidation of the *Buffalo Star* and *Buffalo Review*. Relied mostly on plate matter and soon ceased.

*The *Review*. 1893. Weekly. Published Saturdays at 357 Seventh street. Devoted to music, drama, literature and art.

†*Buffalo Review*. 1898. Daily (except Sunday.) Published by Buffalo Review Co., 42 N. Division street, Charles F. Kingale, president of the company and editor. Discontinued 1903.

The *Rising Sun*. July 23, 1834. Daily, printed at the *Republican* office.

The *Western Star*, in its issue of July 28, 1834, said: "The *Rising Sun* is printed at the *Republican* office, having been commenced after the appearance of our second number, and was followed by the *Daily News*, from the office of the *Buffalo Whig*. On Saturday last (July 26), W. Verrinder, Esq., issued the first number of the *Buffalo Daily Inquirer*, from the office of the *Literary Inquirer*." Thus it appears that four daily newspapers were started in Buffalo in July, 1834, the first of which preceded the second by only two days. The *Star* said (July 28) that it is "opposed by about half a dozen penny papers," but named no others. There was at least one other, the *Daily Advertiser*, published for a time in 1834. August 13th it made note: "It is said that the circulation of the Penny Dailies—alias 'Sheets of Tin,' alias 'Nubs of Chalk,' as they are sometimes styled, exceeds 30,000 per diem." The *Daily News* ceased publication about the first of August, 1834; a few days later, the *Rising Sun* set to rise no more; the *Daily Inquirer* was discontinued August 13, 1834; and the *Daily Advertiser* about that time. The *Western Star* still shines—traditionally—in the *Courier*.

- II *Risveglio* (Ital.: "The Awakening.") Oct. 28, 1907, by the Risveglio Publishing Co., 457 Washington street. P. Ogliaro, editor. Moved to 131 Court street, Guiseppe Teresi, editor; then moved to 148 Niagara street, and changed its name to *La Verita*, q. v.

The *Riverside Weekly*. 1899. Weekly, by Pettit & Heiser, 1715 Niagara street.

- *The *Roaster*. Jan. 30, 1899. Official organ of the Buffalo Turnverein; published in the interest of the "Jharmarkt" (fair) of April 3-8, 1899, then discontinued. J. C. Valentin, chairman of publication committee. Text in German and English. 4to, ill.

†The *Rocket*. Feb., 1891. Monthly, amateur, by Alfred L. Becker and Reginald Smith; later by Mr. Smith, 360 Pennsylvania street.

- †*The *Roller Mill*. July, 1882. Monthly. Devoted to milling, mechanics and kindred subjects. A. B. Kellogg, publisher and proprietor. Edwin L. Burdick Co., publishers (1894). Chas. S. Parke, editor. Discontinued, 1909.

The *Roller Skater*. 1884-85. By Homer E. Dudley. A not very serious by-product of the roller-skating craze of that period.

- †**Rough Notes*. March 20, 1852. Daily. M. Cadwallader, editor. Geo. Reese & Co., publishers, West Seneca street. A morning Whig journal. In 1853 H. L. Rann, who had been one of its editors from the start, acquired a third interest; in 1854 Rann & Cowan became proprietors, and the same year it was united with the *Democracy*, q. v.

Round the World. 1871. Monthly. W. T. Horner, publisher.

Royal Templar and Index. 1879. Weekly. Successor to the *Index* (1875) and in 1881 became the *Royal Templar of Temperance*, Clayton M. Hill, M. D., editor and proprietor.

Royal Templar of Temperance. Successor in 1881 of the *Royal Templar and Index*. Weekly. It was bought by Rev. Robert Dick and renamed *Law & Gospel Tribune*. In May, 1883, Dr. Hill resumed control and continued the paper under the title *Standard and Royal Templar*, with office at 329 Main street.

**Saengerbund Carnivalia.* (Ger.) Humorous newspaper, issued daily during the Buffalo Saengerbund carnival, Feb., 1870; also in Feb., 1880, and perhaps in other years.

**St. Andrew's Gazette, Ca.* 1897, by St. Andrew's church, Goodell street, near Michigan. Weekly or occasional.

†*The St. Louis Bazar Chronicle.* Oct. 22, 1888. Daily. Oct. 22 to Nov. 10, 1888. Published by a committee for the church bazar; printed by Peter Paul & Bro., 420 Main street. Valuable for history of St. Louis R. C. church.

St. Louis Kirchen Glocken. (Ger.: "St. Louis Church Bells.") Rev. H. H. Fleer, editor, 337 Richmond avenue; Jos. Gram, Jr., 46 Brayton street, until about 1902.

St. Paul's Chimes. 1913. Monthly. By the Brotherhood of St. Andrews (Prot. Episcopal).

†*Buffalo Sanitary Bulletin.* Jan. 31, 1908. Monthly, by the Buffalo Dept. of Health. Continues the series of reports published 1894 to 1904 under the title "Monthly Report of the Department of Health." For many years prior to 1892 the weekly reports were entitled: "Statement of Mortality," etc

**The Saturday Mail.* 1893. Weekly. Published Saturdays by the Mail Publishing Co., 15 Terrace. "A family story paper." "Original, sparkling, up with the times." Soon ceased.

**Buffalo Saturday Night.* December 11, 1915. An illustrated weekly, published every Thursday morning at 158 Ellicott street. The initial issue, claiming to be "strictly non-partisan, non-political and non-sectarian," consisted of three 4-page sections, one headed "Women's Saturday Night," one "Financial Saturday Night."

**The Saturday Tidings, Ca.* 1881. Weekly. W. K. Miller and J. A. Rogers, editors and proprietors. "Original, sparkling, tart, up with the times, ripe with the news," was the modest editorial claim for itself.

†*Saturn Evening Globe.* Feb. 6, 1904. Saturn Club humorous production. Only one issue.

†*Saturnalia.* Jan. 1, 1890. Saturn Club humorous paper. One issue only.

The School-bag. 1892. Monthly, amateur. Further data lacking.

Buffalo School Herald and Lovejoy News. Weekly, by the Buffalo School Herald Pub. Co., Broadway, corner Person street.

The Buffalo School Journal. 1877. Monthly, by Alexander Gordon. Published by R. M. Evans & Co., 194 Main street. Suspended, 1879.

- The *School Reader*. 1842. Weekly. R. W. Haskins, editor, A. W. Wilgus, printer, 203 Main street. Died for lack of support after three months.
- The *School Room*. 1898. Monthly, by the School Room Publishing Co., 534 Main street. Continued about four years.
- Schul und Hausfreund*. (Ger.: "School and House Friend.") March 9, 1853, to Dec. 15, 1853. Semi-monthly. Conrad Baer, editor and proprietor, No. 7 E. Seneca street.
- The *Scientific Commercial*. 1876. Weekly, by the Scientific Commercial Co. Green's Block, corner Washington and N. Division streets. Continued 20 weeks. One of its editors was Alexander J. Sheldon, first librarian of the Grosvenor library. Soon after Mr. Sheldon's death, March 23, 1876, the paper was discontinued.
- †The *Scrap-Book*. 1891. Monthly, amateur. "A journal for everybody," conducted by Henry Payne, 144 Chenango street.
- Scientific News*. 1893. Monthly, by R. Bruce Chamberlain, 306 Main street. Later, by S. S. Stewart.
- †The *Search Light*. June, 1896. Monthly, by the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Delaware avenue Baptist church. Early issues were in small 8-p. newspaper form, but soon (Dec. '96) changed to the 8vo magazine form.
- **Select Knights Journal*. 1879. Monthly, later quarterly. Official organ of the Order of Select Knights.
- **Selling Power*. 1914. Occasional. "The Pratt & Lambert dealers' magazine. A practical paper for dealers," etc. Ill., pp. 12. Pratt & Lambert, Tonawanda street.
- The *Buffalo Sentinel*. 1839. See "The Buffalo Centinel."
- Buffalo Sentinel*. June, 1853. Weekly. A Catholic journal owned and edited by Bernard Doran Killian. The original office was on Washington street, "two doors from the postoffice." Killian had worked in the office of the *American Celt* and when that paper removed to New York, the *Sentinel* took its place in Buffalo. In 1854 Michael Hagan became editor and proprietor and enlarged the paper, the full title appearing as *Buffalo Sentinel and Advocate*. From 1855 to 1861 the *Sentinel* office was in old Dudley Hall, 93 Main street. It removed to 111 Main, in 1865 to 158 Main, and soon after ceased.
- In his "Life and Times of Rt. Rev. John Timon," Mr. Chas. G. Deuther says: "Mr. Hagan felt justified in pursuing a certain course and policy in the control of his paper, not altogether in accordance with the Bishop's views, and, as no terms of agreement could be settled upon, the Bishop withdrew his name and influence from the paper." The *Western New York Catholic* was established, 1864, as the official organ of the Diocese.
- The founder of the *Sentinel*, B. Doran Killian, served in a Missouri regiment during the Civil War, and afterwards for many years practiced law in New York City. He was a prolific writer with some reputation as a poet. He died in Brooklyn, Nov. 8, 1914, aged 78.

An incident in editor Hagan's career was his arrest for libel, in April, 1865, on complaint of John Magee, mine owner, of Fall Brook, Pa. In July, 1865, Mr. Hagan crossed over into Canada.

La Sentinella del Niagara. (Ital.: "The Sentinel of the Niagara.") First Italian newspaper bearing Buffalo imprint, but it was printed in New York City, February 25, 1884, by A. J. Oishei and C. A. De Stasio, editors and proprietors, who had a banking and steamship office at 163 Exchange street, Buffalo. It was probably the intention to continue the paper in Buffalo, but only the original issue above noted is known.

Senza Paura! (Ital.: "Without Fear!") Feb., 1898. Weekly. independent humorous journal, edited by Gennaro Dorso and others; later by A. Leoncavallo. Suspended after a lively career of 13 weeks. See *La Vendetta*.

Sila. (Polish: "Power.") 1896-7. Weekly. Four pages, organ of the Radical Socialists. Published on Broadway near Jefferson. Among its editors or leading contributors were Helen Piatrowska and A. F. Kowalski. After some two years of precarious existence, it was moved to Shamokin, Pa., renamed *Sila i Postep* ("Power and Progress"), and later transferred to Chicago.

The Sixteenth Amendment. 1884. Weekly. Prohibition organ issued by the Sixteenth Amendment Co. (Ltd.), W. H. H. Bartram, editor. Coal & Iron Exchange.

**The Skirmisher.* 1911. "Published in the interests of Grace Universalist church and the community thereabout."

**Stocum's Shorthand Magazine.* May, 1896. Monthly. Wm. H. Stocum, editor and publisher, 550 Ellicott Square. "The object of the publication of this magazine is to elevate the standard of the shorthand profession."

Slonce. (Polish: "The Sun.") 1902. Weekly, by George Miraki, 471 Fillmore avenue. Moved to St. Paul about 1905, then to Milwaukee.

**Buffalo Socialist.* First issued Oct., 1911. There were at least three issues prior to June 6, 1912, which is marked "Vol. I., No. 1." Weekly (occasionally irregularly) by the Buffalo Socialist Publishing Co., Max Sherover, manager (1914), Teck Theater Building. See *New Age*.

**Society.* Jan., 1894. Weekly. Published every Saturday by Society Pub. Co. Offices, 35 Morgan Bldg., (editorial) and 306 Main street, (business).

**Society Comique.* Aug. 15, 1898. Ill. Issued the 1st and 15th of the month. Edward J. Hall, editor; Glenn F. Gaskill, society editor; H. Howard Frost, business manager. Society Comique Co., 335 Washington street. "Society, theatrical, comic." Short-lived.

Socyalista. (Polish: "Socialist.") 1892. Semi-monthly, by Joseph Zawisza, 49 Mills street. Discontinued about 1894.

- Sonntags-Blatt.* (Ger.: "Sunday Journal.") 1854. Weekly. German literary paper, published one year by Brunck, Held & Co., Mohawk street near Main.
- Buffalo Sonntags Herald.* (Ger.: "Sunday Herald.") Sept. 5, 1875. Weekly. Published by Haas, Nauert & Co., 200 Main street. The first German Sunday paper in Buffalo, it aimed to be a "strictly first-class family journal, independent in all political and religious questions." Lived eight months.
- Die Sonntagspost.* (Ger.: "Sunday Post.") 1891. Weekly. Published Sundays by Hermann Hoffman, editor and publisher, 46-48 Broadway. Devoted to humor, the theater, literature, music, etc. The founder of this ably-conducted, attractive journal died in Jan., 1896.
- Sonntags-Zeitung des Telegraph.* 1864. By P. H. Bender, Main near Mohawk. Later (1873, etc.), by F. Geib, 46-48 Batavia street (Broadway). See *Der Telegraph*.
- South Buffalo Advocate.* 1906. Discontinued May, 1911. Monthly. Published by Ellis Bros. Printing Co., 581-583 South Park avenue.
- **The South Buffalo Journal.* 1892. Weekly. Published every Saturday at 356 Elk street, by James Stratton.
- **The South Buffalo Minim.* Ca. 1890. Weekly. Published Saturdays at 352 Elk street, J. Dodge, editor.
- South Buffalo Progress.* Nov., 1899. Weekly. In Feb., 1902, became a labor paper styled *Progress, q. v.*, and merged with the *Republic*. See *Republic and Progress*.
- **The South Buffalonian.* 1893. Weekly. Published every Saturday at 824 Clinton street. "Devoted to the interests of South Buffalo." Katherine M. Buddenborg, editor.
- **South Side Topics.* 1913. Monthly, "in the industrial interests of the Elk street district and adjacent territory." "Delivered free to 5,000 homes." Wm. Carroll, editor, 316 Elk street. One of several Buffalo journals which in recent years have been fairly successful on the free-circulation basis.
- **The Buffalo Spectator.* 1836. Weekly. Thursdays, at 150 Main street, T. & M. Butler, publishers. Rev. Stephen Peet, editor. A journal devoted to religion, temperance, missions, abolition of slavery, etc. Published by a Presbyterian association. Motto: "Holiness to the Lord." It lived about two years.
- **The Spectator.* 1895. Weekly. Published Saturdays, F. Z. S. Peregrino, editor and publisher, 326 Ellicott street. "The only colored (people's) newspaper in Western New York." "The greatest good of the greatest number of our race."
- **Buffalo Spirit News.* June, 1897. Weekly. Published Saturdays, by the Buffalo Spirit News Publishing Co., Fred S. Hatch, proprietor. "Devoted to the interests of the liquor trade of Buffalo and vicinity. We are here to stay." Short-lived.

The *Sporting Record*. Dec. 9, 1897. Weekly. Issued every Thursday by W. J. J. Kunzie, publisher and proprietor, 11 Brown Building. "Official organ associated cycling clubs." D. E. Serviss, editor. Published about four years.

Sporting World. 1883. Saturdays. Endres, Hansauer & Reinhart, 91 Main street. Probably the first paper published in Buffalo devoted wholly to sport.

*The *Sporting World*. March 3, 1894. Weekly. Published every Saturday morning at No. 15 Terrace. H. E. Thomas, publisher.

The *Spy*. See *Buffalo Journal* (amateur).

Stageland. 1907. Weekly. Issued Saturdays by Stageland Publication Co., 507 Mooney Bldg.

The *Standard and Royal Templar*. 1883. Monthly. Published by Clayton L. Hill, M. D., editor and proprietor, 329 Main street. See *Royal Templar of Temperance*.

†*Buffalo Daily *Star*. Nov. 10, 1834, being the continuation of the *Western Star* (est. July 21, 1834), which was the first daily in Buffalo. It was issued mornings, except Sunday, by James Faxon & Co., "No. 6 Terrace Buildings, opposite the Market." With the change of name the paper appeared considerably enlarged, 4 cols. to the page, and for the first time really worthy to be called a daily newspaper, though its news offering was usually meager. It continued neutral in politics, and increased its price to two cents, or \$5 per year. It was issued from the office of the (Weekly) *Buffalo Bulletin*, established, 1830, later the *Republican and Bulletin*, the *Republican* dating from 1828. Charles Faxon was the first editor of the *Star*; later, Faxon & Gates were carrying it on at 165 Main street. Horatio Gates retired as editor, August 4, 1838, was succeeded by Wm. L. Crandall, and the *Star* became an evening paper, devoted to the principles of the Democratic party. In 1839 the daily *Star* became the daily *Republican* (q. v.), and later evolved into the daily *Courier* (q. v.).

In 1835, Charles Faxon, office in the Exchange Building, 156 Main street, was advertising his papers as follows:

"The *Republican and Bulletin*, having a circulation greater by one third than any other paper in Western New York, affords a medium for advertising superior to any in the city; and the *Daily Star*, being a morning paper, issued just in time to be distributed on board the steam boats, which sail every morning, offers an early abstract of the important news of the day." See notes under "*Western Star*."

†The *Star*. Feb., 1892. Monthly, amateur. B. Henn, editor. G. Sidford, proprietor. W. Milne, manager, 789 Prospect avenue. Consolidated with the *Buffalo Review*, taking the new name *Illustrated Buffalo Review*.

*The *Buffalo Star*. May 6, 1899. Weekly. Issued Saturdays at 28 Cassy street. Published by a board of managers. David Grant, Jr., editor.

- †*The Sun-Crescent*. 1891. Monthly, amateur. *The Sun* and the *Crescent* consolidated; Chas. H. Williams and Chauncey D. Cowles, editors and proprietors, 121 N. Pearl street, and 16 Arlington place.
- Sunday-School Standard*. 1866. Monthly, J. E. Gilbert, publisher, 185 Main street. Continued less than two years.
- **Buffalo Sunday Star*. Ca. 1885. Weekly. Office: Robinson's Musee Building—better known as the Arcade. Theatrical and sporting news, etc.
- Star of Hope*. 1901. Monthly, by Star of Hope Missionary and Benevolent Society, 67 Washington street.
- †*Statement of Mortality*. Weekly publication of the Buffalo Board of Health. Changed to a monthly, 1892; in 1893 title changed to "Official Monthly Report," etc., and in 1908 to the *Buffalo Sanitary Bulletin*, q. v.
The Public Library file runs from Jan 8, 1881—Aug. 31, 1892.
- **Stenographers' Exchange Bulletin*. June, 1894. Weekly or bi-monthly. H. P. Burns, editor and manager. "A journal for stenographers."
- Stimmen aus Zion*. (Ger.: "Voices of Zion.") 1886. Monthly, by J. F. H. Dieckmann, 71 Locust street.
- Straight Tips*. Feb., 1890. Monthly. Conducted by Straight Tips Pub. Co. until Jan., 1891, when it became *The American Book-binder* (q. v.), official organ of the United Bookbinders of America.
- Straps and Buckles*. 1895. Monthly. By E. L. Burdick Co., 87 Erie Co. Bank Bldg. Devoted to harness and kindred interests.
- **Sublime Patriot*. 1841. Semi-monthly. Edited by Th. Jefferson Sutherland. Devoted to the release of American prisoners in Van Diemen's Land. Ceased, 1842. Sutherland had been a "general" of the so-called Liberating Army of Canada, was active in the so-called Patriot War, and was the author of "Loose Leaves from the Port Folio of a late Patriot-Prisoner in Canada," and another volume, "A Letter to Her Majesty the British Queen," etc.
- The Summer Resorter*. 1897. Weekly. Society and travel paper issued from 640 Ellicott Square. See *The Resorter*.
- **Buffalo Daily Sun*. July 1, 1838. Daily (later, weekly), by Abraham Dinsmore. A two-cent morning journal, carried on for some months by Palmer & Dinsmore, publishers and editors, Kremlin Block. Beginning with vol. II., July 1, 1839, it was published by Eastabrooks & Palmer, Mr. E. H. Eastabrooks, editor. The partnership ceased in July, 1839, and Mr. Eastabrooks formed a new partnership with William Runcie. The *Buffalo Weekly Sun* was started by them July 27, 1839; on April 1, 1840, the daily *Sun* was enlarged; on June 30, 1840, Mr. Runcie withdrew, Mr. Eastabrooks continued as sole proprietor, and Horatio Gates shared in the editorial work. In the campaign that year the *Sun* supported Van Buren for President, and developed into a

staunch Democratic journal. The *Sun* was continued about three years.

Ebenezer Howard Eastabrooks, founder of the Buffalo (weekly) *Sun*, was born in Providence, R. I., Aug. 30, 1809. The family removed to Illinois, where he was apprenticed and learned the printing trade. Going to New York, he was for a time with the Methodist Book Publishing Society; then engaged in business for himself at Montrose, Pa., where he published the *Montrose Volunteer*, a weekly. Removing to Buffalo he bought the daily *Sun* and started the weekly, as above noted. Some years later he sold the paper, continuing in the book and job-printing business. On Oct. 24, 1843, at St. Paul's church, Mr. Eastabrooks was married by Rev. Wm. Shelton, to Mary Ann Day, daughter of Ebenezer Day. Mr. Eastabrooks died in Oct., 1862.

The *Saturday Morning Sun*. 1882. Weekly. Published at 208 Washington street. Of short life.

†The *Sun*. April, 1891. Monthly, amateur, Jas. P. White, Jr., Chauncey D. Cowles, editors, 18 Arlington place.

Daily *Sun*. 1894. Daily, by Landsittel, Metke & Co., 473 William street.

The *Sunbeam*. 1859. Weekly, A. P. Dunlap & Co., proprietors; Dr. C. D. Griswold, editor, at No. 3 Niagara street.

**Szabadseg*. (*Hungarian*: "Liberty.") Published weekly at Cleveland, O., but an office, said to be the principal distributing agency for this paper in America, is maintained (1915) at 41 Exchange street, Buffalo, B. L. Namenyi, agent.

Buffalo *Tageblatt*. (*Ger.*: "Buffalo Journal.") May, 1845, by Ernest Oesten, who for a time continued the *Freimuthige* as its weekly issue; but in August both daily and weekly ceased. Its successor was the weekly *Telegraph*, *q. v.*

†**Täglicher Buffalo Demokrat*. See *Buffalo Demokrat*.

Täglicher Buffalo Telegraph. See *Der Telegraph*.

†**Täglicher Buffalo Volksfreund*. See *Buffalo Volksfreund*.

*The *Tatler*. Jan., 1889. Monthly, amateur. Vol. I, No. 2, bears the claim: "Founded 1882."

**Morning Tattler*. 1840. Daily by Langdon, Frechette & Schaeffer. Edited by Geo. W. Bungay, later by Thos. L. Nichols. It later became the *Morning Times*, *q. v.*

The *Techtonian*. Ca. 1906. Occasional. Published by the Technical High School.

Der *Telegraph*. (*Ger.*) Nov., 1845. Weekly. A Whig paper, established soon after the death of the *Tageblatt*; published by H. B. Miller, edited by Adolph Heilman. Louis Tickens and C. Essellen were successive editors. May, 1853, it became a daily (except Sunday and Monday), published by Miller & Bender; in 1857, Philip H. Bender became sole proprietor. On the formation of the Republican party it became a strong Republican paper; during the Civil War it was issued for a time both

morning and evening. Friedrich Geib succeeded Bender as proprietor and the paper was discontinued in 1874.

Henry B. Miller, born in Lebanon Co., Pa., in 1819, had started at least three newspapers in Michigan towns before 1845, in which year he came to Buffalo, and in 1846 established the *Buffalo Telegraph*, a German newspaper, at first weekly, later daily and weekly, which had a fairly successful career for some 30 years. Miller was appointed lighthouse superintendent for one of the Lake districts; served two terms in the State Legislature; is said to have made large profits from Erie Canal contracts; in 1865 removed to Chicago, where he engaged in brewing, was elected county treasurer, served a term in the Illinois Legislature, and was known as "Buffalo Miller," perhaps in reference to his former home, but probably because he had a buffalo's head over the entrance to his brewery. He established distilleries and became president of the National Distillers' Association. He was the organizer of the first whisky pool, under the name of the Western Export Association. In connection with certain "Whisky ring" prosecutions he was arrested and imprisoned, but soon released. He removed to South Bend, Ind., where in 1888 he was the Republican candidate for mayor, but was defeated. He died in Chicago, Nov., 1889.

Before coming to Buffalo, Mr. Miller had published a paper at Kalamazoo, Mich., named the *Telegraph*, which in later years was edited by Alexander Sheldon, a native Buffalonian, who afterwards returned to Buffalo, was the first librarian of the Grosvenor Library, and edited the *Scientific Commercial*.

†*The *Telegraph*. 1880. Daily. Published by the Telegraph Publishing Co., 153 Main street.

In the fall of 1880 the Messrs. Scripps came to Buffalo, bought the building No. 153 Main street; and on October 30 the first number of the *Evening Telegraph* was issued by the Telegraph Publishing Co. The company consisted of Jas. E. and George Scripps of the *Detroit Evening News*; John Sweeney, later of the *Cleveland Penny Press*; E. W. Scripps, later of the *Cincinnati Evening Post*; Michael Dee, managing editor of the *Detroit Evening News*; and Judge Randall of Detroit. An able staff was engaged; and although various changes occurred, in the controlling company, it continued a "Scripps and Sweeney" enterprise, and a particular rival of the *Evening News*, then also a newly established one-cent afternoon daily. The *Telegraph* won an unenviable reputation by its exploitation of the Cleveland-Halpin scandal of the campaign of 1884. The paper was not a financial success and was bought, August, 1885, by E. H. and J. Ambrose Butler, and merged in their *Evening News*, the first consolidated issue being on August 18, 1885.

Of several capable writers whose work made the *Telegraph*, none merits mention in this connection more than Allen Gilman Bigelow. Born in Buffalo in 1854, his newspaper work began with the weekly *Bohemia*. He did editorial work on the *Telegraph*, the *Roller Mill*, the *Lockport Journal* and the *Buffalo Express*. He was a graceful, imaginative writer, inclining

chiefly to the poetic and literary opportunities of his profession. He died Aug. 8, 1891.

Buffalo Temperance Standard. 1842. Monthly. A. M. Clapp, editor, H. A. Salisbury & Clapp, printers, Exchange Building. Survived one year.

Tent and Temple. 1896. Quarterly, then monthly. by Rev. Owen O. Wiard, editor and proprietor, 85 Laurel street. Devoted to the interest of the United Brethren church.

There and Back. 1905. Monthly, by W. H. Coffrin Publishing Co., Erie Co. Bank Bldg. "A unique railroad guide."

Saturday Tidings. 1890. Weekly. First published by John A. McCann, 193 Main street; later by Miller & Rogers.

**Tidings from the North Church.* 1898. Monthly, under auspices of the Men's Association of the North Church. Chas. C. Robbins, editor.

Morning Times. 1841. Daily. John S. Walker, editor and proprietor, 194 Main street. The successor of the *Morning Tattler*, started in the summer of 1840. The *Times* did not outlive the year of its birth.

†*The Buffalo Daily *Times.* Aug., 1857, by the Times Association. In 1858, merged with the *Republic*, q. v.

†Buffalo Evening *Times.* Sept. 7, 1879, Norman E. Mack issued his first Sunday *Times*, at 200 Main street; a few months later the office was moved to 50 Seneca street (upstairs), where was published the *Daily Morning Times*, q. v. This office burned, February, 1883. A new office was established at 272 Washington street; on May 13, 1883, the plant moved to 191 Main street, where on Sept. 13, 1883, the *Daily Times* was started as a two-cent morning paper, and so continued until Dec. 2, 1886, when it became a one-cent paper with morning and afternoon editions. The morning edition was soon dropped, the paper appearing as the *Buffalo Evening Times*, and the *Buffalo Sunday Times*. June 15, 1885, The Times Co., Ltd., was incorporated, Norman E. Mack, president. The property 195-197 Main street was acquired, from which has since been issued the *Buffalo Evening Times* (with various enlargements), The *Illustrated Times* (Sunday), The *Times-Republic*, the *Morning Journal* (in the political campaign of 1897), the *National Monthly*, etc.; and the *Illustrated Sunday Magazine*, established 1907, issued as a supplement of the Sunday *Times* and (in 1914) of 16 other journals in as many cities, with a total weekly circulation, as reported, of 1,600,000 copies. No other Buffalo-made periodical has ever attained equal circulation.

The style of name of the daily *Times* has been various: *Buffalo Evening Times*, *Buffalo Daily Times*, *Daily Times*, *Daily Morning Times*, again *Buffalo Daily Times*, and again *Buffalo Evening Times*. From its start, the dominating spirit has been Norman E. Mack.

†The Daily Morning *Times.* March 31, 1881. Established by Norman E. Mack. The heading was *The Daily Times* until April

7th, when it became *Daily Morning Times*, and on April 29th, as above, it announced itself "an independent morning newspaper, devoted to news, literature, politics and art." Ceased publication, May 28, 1881. See *Buffalo Evening Times*.

The *Times-Republic*. 1893. See *Buffalo Evening Times*.

†*Buffalo Sunday Times*. See *Buffalo Evening Times*.

†*The *Tomahawk*. 1890. Monthly, amateur. F. J. Fellows and Marshall Clinton, editors, 202 Whitney place.

†The *Torpedo*. 1890. Monthly, amateur. Miss Annie Clinton and Wm. Sizer, editors, 54 Johnson place.

†The *Trained Nurse*. Aug., 1888. Monthly. Margaret Elliott Francis, editor. Lakeside Publishing Co., 41-43 Franklin street. A journal of practical nursing for hospital and home. Removed to New York.

The *Transcript*. July 13, 1835. Daily and weekly; established by Henry Faxon, edited by E. J. Roberts, who was succeeded Dec., 1835, by Edward H. Thompson. It lasted about six months.

*The *Buffalo Daily Transcript*. 1877. Daily by the McKillop Commercial Agency. Bought, Jan., 1882, by Clifton & Webster. Published at No. 31 Coit Block, West Swan street. "A morning journal containing an accurate and official transcript of Erie County records, calendars, and proceedings of the various courts, real estate news and general local intelligence." Feb., 1882, W. G. Webster sold his interest to Edward Clifton, who in turn sold a half interest to J. B. Van Duzee, but later rebought it. Various changes followed. C. H. Webster became manager; and Feb. 13, 1883, it became The *Daily Transcript and Business Record*. Later, E. Clifton, editor and publisher.

The *Sunday Transcript*. 1874. Weekly. Published Sundays by George Bros. & Co., 188 Main street. Lasted about a year.

**Traveler's Guide*, to Niagara Falls, Saratoga, etc. 1866. Monthly, by Felton & Bro., 159 Main street.

The *Triangle*. 1900. Monthly. Official organ, American Fraternal Insurance Union. Published by the Supreme Council, 332 Mooney-Brisbane Building.

Buffalo Tribuene. (Ger.) Jan., 1876. Weekly. Second German Sunday paper in Buffalo. Stechholtz & Miller, publishers. The Labor party, organized 1877, made it its organ, and in Sept. of that year the *Taegliche Tribuene* was begun, the Sunday edition being continued. In April, 1878, the German Republican Printing Association acquired both papers, discontinued the daily but continued the Sunday issue, changing it to *Taeglicher Republikaner*. Nov., 1878, the printing association sold its newspaper interests to Reinecke & Zesch, the *Republikaner* was stopped and the *Buffalo Tribuene* became the Sunday issue of the *Buffalo Freie Presse*.

La *Tribuna Italiana*. (Ital.: "The Italian Tribune.") Oct. 29, 1910. Weekly, by Vito Christiano, 100 Law Exchange, then 301 Broadway; discontinued publication in January, 1912.

- **Buffalo Tribune*. 1893. Weekly. Ill. Published Fridays by the Tribune Publishing Co., 80-84 Terrace.
- The *Saturday Tribune*. 1886. Weekly. Published by Crotts & Hurley, 4 N. Division street. Mark S. Hubbell, editor.
- **Trinity Church News*. 1910. Weekly but suspended June-Sept.; sm. 4 pp., giving Parish calendar and church news. Published by Trinity Episcopal church.
- †The *Trinity Scroll*. 1915. Monthly, for the young people of Trinity church.
- †*Triumphs of Faith*. Jan., 1881. Monthly. Conducted by Carrie F. Judd, 260 Connecticut street. "A monthly journal devoted to faith healing and to the promotion of Christian holiness." Later the phrase "Divine healing," was employed. The editor became Mrs. Montgomery, and the magazine was removed to Beulah, Mills College P. O., Cal. (Vol. XVI., 1896.)
- *The *Trumpet*. Aug. 7, 1912. Published for Troop I, 1st N. Y. Cavalry. 4to. Only occasional, and not too serious.
- †*The *Sunday Truth*. 1882. Last issue, July 9, 1893. Weekly. Sundays, by Truth Publishing Co., 200 Washington street. In 1893, published by S. B. Kirkpatrick & Co.; S. B. Kirkpatrick, editor. Later, Hausauer & Rappold; Sidney G. Sherwood, publisher; Coe & Franey. Its style and appearance varied much from time to time. Among its editors were C. E. Morse and Leslie Thom. With vol. 24, 1893, a "new series" was begun with an engraved heading, showing the word "Truth" in the rays of a search-light; R. C. Hill and C. B. Cobb, editors and proprietors.
- **Truth*. 1903. Weekly. Ill. Saturdays. Founded and conducted by Mark S. Hubbell, editor and proprietor, until his death, Nov. 10, 1908; continued by his son, Mark H. Hubbell, 459 Washington street. A 16-p. journal with cover, largely devoted to town talk, social and amusement topics, with the motto: "The paper that dares. Clinical but never cynical."
- **Turner's Monthly Journal and Commercial Reporter*. Jan., 1856. Published by Turner Bros.
- †The *20th Century Review*. Jan., 1890. Monthly. Ill. By Chas. Wells Moulton. Biographical and critical. Ceased, April, 1890.
- †The *Twinkling Star*. 1891. Monthly, amateur, by Miss Alma A. Johnson, 392 Virginia street, and S. H. and Miss M. Stilling, 1256 Delaware avenue. An attractive paper, with cover.
- *The *Two Step*. 1890. Monthly. By H. N. Grant, 435 Main street; later by H. Layton Walker, 649 Main street. "A monthly magazine devoted to dancing, acting and music." Ten issues a year.
- *The *Um-zoo-ee Review*. Jan. 1, 1882. Ended with vol. I., No. 1, but the editor and his staff improved their opportunity while they had it, and evidently enjoyed their adventure in journalism. Among other things it was "devoted to the interests of members of the Um-zoo-ee Literary and Musical Club of Buffalo"; and "dedicated to all that is moral, instructive, scientific, artistic and aesthetic. Musical and terpsichorean accomplishments

specially fostered." Samuel G. Walker, editor; Miss Lena M Chamot, assistant editor; Will E. Chapin, artist.

**Uncle Sam and National Digest and Advertiser*. May, 1912. Monthly. Donald Bain, editor and proprietor, Ellicott Square. With the issue for July, 1912, marked "vol. 2, No. 3" (1), the title is shortened to *Uncle Sam*, published monthly by the Uncle Sam Publishing Co.; Donald Bain, editor. Not continued.

Unia Polska. (Polish: "Polish Union.") 1896. Monthly. Published by the Polish Roman Catholic Union, Stanislaus Slisz, editor, 227 Lovejoy street. Discontinued about 1908.

Die Union. (Ger.) 1863. Monthly. Rev. C. Liebenpfeiffer, editor, 391 Main street. Later, Rev. W. Semler, editor, 509 Main street. Continued until about 1873.

Die Buffalo Union. (Ger.) Beginning Feb. 22, 1864, Reinecke & Storck published a daily Republican paper under this name. Dr. C. Lauenstein, editor. After the second day, the venture was dropped.

Daily Union Press and Workingmen's Advocate. 1864. The compiler has no evidence that this paper was issued, but a prospectus, published in April, 1864, announced it as an evening paper, to be issued at \$1.00 per quarter or two cents per issue, by M. Hagan & Co., editors and proprietors, No. 111 Main street, Buffalo. No other record of it has been found, nor is any copy of it known.

United Friends. Oct., 1882. First published at 81 Seneca street. Edited by E. W. Beach, in the interest of the order called United Friends.

The United Irishman. 1869. Weekly. Patrick O'Day, publisher. Terrace, corner Main street. Ceased, 1870.

The United States Mail. 1852. Monthly. Jewett, Thomas & Co., publishers.

United Workman. 1878. Semi-monthly. Wm. M. Bennett, publisher, 169 Scott street. Became *The Fraternal Censor*, q. v.

**The University Bison*. March, 1913. Monthly, during the college year. Published by students of the University of Buffalo. Vol. I. was edited by L. J. Malone, chemistry dept.; vol. II., C. O. Baysor, law dept.; vol. III., J. H. McKnight, dental dept. Among contributors have been Dr. Chas. A. Richmond, president of Union College; and Rev. A. V. V. Raymond, Bishop Wm. Burt, Frank S. Fosdick and others.

**Up to Date*. Jan. 16, 1896. Weekly. Published at 201 Main street. "A paper for every one." Chiefly sporting and social.

**The Uplift*. March, 1915. Monthly, "for the extension of the National Chautauqua Idea." The Uplift Press, 482 Washington street. An enterprise originating with Lewis Van Allen.

**Upward*. Weekly. Published by the Jefferson street Church of Christ, succeeding *Our Church Record* without change of vol. or series number. In 1915 (vol. XIX.) Rev. Benj. S. Ferrall, editor, 243 Laurel street.

- **Varnish Talks*. The Pratt & Lambert Magazine. 1914. Occasional, advertising products of Pratt & Lambert, Tonawanda street. Ill., pp. 12.
- La Vendetta*. (Ital.) Ca. 1898. Short-lived.
- Venezuela Notes*. 1902. Quarterly, at No. 931 Clinton street, by the Venezuela Mission.
- **Der Vereinsbote*. (Ger.: "The Union Messenger.") Ca. 1891. Monthly, by the Walther Liga, 213 Southampton street. A paper for German Lutheran Young People's societies.
- **Vereinstimmen*. (Ger.: "Association Echoes.") Ca. 1897. Monthly, by the German Dept., Y. M. C. A. Later, a weekly.
- La Verita*. (Ital.: "The Truth.") 1900. Monthly, successor of the *La Voce della Verita*, q. v. Became semi-weekly, then weekly. Published by Rev. G. B. Giambruno, assisted by Mrs. Giambruno, at 54 Carroll street. Italo-American evangelical "patriotic and literary" journal. Maintained an English department.
- La Verita*. (Ital.: "The Truth.") April 10, 1909. Continuation of *Il Risveglio*. P. Ogialore, editor; published first at 139 Court street, then at 125 Georgia street; discontinued in June, 1909.
- La Verita*. (Ital.: "The Truth.") One political issue of a four-page paper, Oct. 4, 1911.
- Vincenzo Bellini*. (Ital.) Feb., 1910. Monthly organ of the Bellini Musical Circle, published at 216 Front avenue. Lasted four months.
- Sunday Visitor*. 1852. Weekly. Reed & Moore, publishers, corner Seneca and Washington streets.
- The Visitor*. 1891. Monthly, amateur. Data lacking.
- The Visitor*. Ca. 1903. Monthly. A. Eirmann, editor, 335 Richmond avenue. In the interests of St. Luke's Evangelical church.
- **Vocational Education*. May, 1911. Occasional. Published by the Vocational schools of Buffalo. Wm. B. Kamprath, editor-in-chief. A handsomely printed and illustrated periodical.
- La Voce della Verita*. (Ital.: "The Voice of Truth.") 1899. Monthly or semi-monthly. 4to. Organ of the Methodist Episcopal Union of Buffalo. Rev G. B. Giambruno, editor, 73 Seneca street. Later (Ca. 1900) it became *La Verita*, q. v.
- **Voice of the People*. 1899. Weekly. Saturdays. Published at 160 Clinton street, by The Voice of the People Pub. Co., M. H. Heavey, editor. Apparently ceased 1901.
- Folksblatt für Stadt und Land*. (Ger.: "People's Paper for City and Country.") 1877. Daily. Outgrowth of the weekly *Evangelische Gemeindezeitung*, q. v. Discontinued Jan., 1880.
- Der Volksfreund*. (Ger.: "The People's Friend.") 1840. Weekly, by Adolphus Meyer. Discontinued after the election of that year.

- †**Buffalo Volksfreund*. (Ger.: "The People's Friend.") Aug. 1, 1868. Daily and weekly by the Buffalo German Printing Association. The first editor was L. W. Koelkenbeck, succeeded 1871 by Mathias Rohr. In 1915, published by the Buffalo Volkfreund Printing Co., 46-48 Broadway, Ignatz Woepfel, president.
- Der *Volks Schild*. (Ger.: "The People's Shield.") 1840. Weekly. F. H. Singer, editor and proprietor. Apparently short-lived.
- †*The *Volunteer*. 1864. Feb. 22-27. Daily for six days during the Great Central Fair of the Ladies of the Christian Commission of Buffalo.
- **Die Wachende Kirche*. (Ger.: "The Wide-awake Church.") 1866. Monthly, then semi-monthly; first edited by Rev. J. A. A. Grabau, to 1878; after him, by the following Lutheran pastors and teachers: 1878-81, Rev. Martin Burk, Buffalo; 1881-84, Prof. Alexander Lange, Buffalo; 1885-93, Rev. J. A. Grabau, La Salle; 1894-1900, Rev. J. N. Grabau, Buffalo; 1900-1906, Rev. H. Mackensen, Detroit; 1906-09, Prof. Frederick Plenz, Buffalo; 1909-13, Prof. Rudolf Grabau, Buffalo; 1913-14, Rev. Chas. Hoessel, Milwaukee. Official organ of the German Lutheran Synod of Buffalo, and published in Buffalo (in 1915, at 184 Goodell street), even when the editor resides in another city of the Buffalo Synod, which extends over several states.
- The *Warning*. 1828. Fortnightly or irregularly, by Rev. Jabez B. Hyde. The *Warning*, according to an early record, "was a little periodical published once a fortnight during 1828 by Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, and which was entirely devoted to the explanations of the personal wrongs and grievances sustained by him, in consequence of the action of the Buffalo Presbytery upon his ministerial functions as missionary among the Indians. It was a curious specimen of typography, as Mr. Hyde bought some old type, and learned to set them in his old age, for the purpose of spreading his case before the public, and composed the matter with his own hands without much reference to the rules of the art."
- Warta*. (Polish: "Watchman.") 1898-1911. Weekly. Published at 179 Sobieski street, by Rt. Rev. Stephen Kaminski. Organ of the Independent Catholic Polish Church of America.
- Der *Buffalo Wecker*. (Ger.: "The Buffalo Waker.") Oct., 1880. Weekly, by E. C. Eckart. Lived seven weeks.
- Wedrowieo*. (Polish: "The Traveler.") 1908. Monthly, by W. K. Missall, 242 Gibson street; in 1909 at 964 Sycamore street.
- *The *Week in Review*. 1911. Weekly. Published every Friday at the Broadway Vocational School of Printing. "Devoted to the advancement of the cause of vocational education." The pupils of the Broadway Vocational School set the type and printed the paper.
- Der *Weltbürger*. (Ger.: "The Citizen.") Dec. 2, 1837, to Nov. 29, 1845. Weekly. Buffalo's first German paper, published by

Col. George Zahm, first edited by Stephen Molitor, then by Zahm, until his death, Sept. 28, 1844. In 1845, the paper was carried on by Dr. F. K. Brunck and J. Domedion, who made it a semi-weekly. In 1854, by a merger, it became *Der Demokrat und Weltbürger*; daily, weekly and semi-weekly, by Brunck, Held & Co. See *Buffalo Demokrat*.

Col. Zahm was Buffalo's first German journalist. At a liberty-pole raising in Cheektowaga, the pole fell and killed him.

**The West Side*. 1911. Weekly. Published Thursdays at 1724 Niagara street by Alf E. Tovey, John S. Richardson, editor and manager. An 8-p. journal devoted especially to West Side and Black Rock interests, "delivered free to 5,500 homes."

**Buffalo West Side Advertiser*. May 27, 1897. Weekly. Published Thursdays by the Advertiser Co., 514 Niagara street.

The West Side News. Weekly, at 1724 Niagara street.

**West Side Topics*. Ca. 1900. Weekly. Published Wednesdays at 80-84 Terrace by the Bensler Press; Orville G. Victor, editor. "Devoted to the interests of the West Side."

Western Advertiser. 1827 or '28. Devoted to Anti-Masonry. Weekly, by Charles Sentell and Billings Hayward. On March 19, 1828, it was merged with another paper, under the heading *Buffalo and Black Rock Gazette and Western Advertiser*. Soon after the former paper became the *Buffalo Gazette*, and the *Western Advertiser* subscriptions were transferred to the *Buffalo Patriot*. For a time (1828-29) the style was *Buffalo Patriot and Western Advertiser*.

**The Western Cataract*. Jan., 1845, weekly, established by Lyman P. Judson. It later passed into the hands of Chauncey Hurlburt, with James DuBois as editor. He was succeeded by W. B. Williams. It was issued on Thursdays at No. 4 Terrace, "over Colston's Temperance Grocery." It was devoted to temperance and Mr. Hurlburt changed its title to the *Western Temperance Standard*, q. v.

Western Evangelist. June, 1846. Weekly. L. S. Everett and Stephen Hall, proprietors, Rev. L. S. Everett, editor, 136 Main street. Universalist. Continued one year.

The Western Galaxy. Aug. 26, 1834. Data lacking.

†*The Western Literary Messenger*. July, 1841. Semi-monthly. Established by John S. Chadbourne, with the title *Literary Messenger*. In July, 1842, Chas. D. Ferris acquired a half interest, and the *Messenger*, renamed as above, became a weekly. In 1843 Mr. Ferris sold his interest to Jesse Clement. May, 1846, Mr. Chadbourne retired and was succeeded by Chas. Faxon 2d. Messrs. Clement & Faxon carried it on successfully for several years, during which the *Messenger* gained a national reputation as "a family magazine of literature, science, art, morality and general intelligence." For a time, it was carried on by Jewett, Thomas & Co., being discontinued in 1857.

Western New York Catholic. 1864. Weekly. D. M. Enright, publisher, 176 Washington street. Continued about four years. As

the organ of the Catholic Church in Buffalo it succeeded the *Buffalo Sentinel*.

**Western Presbyterian*. March, 1841. Monthly. Rev. John C. Lord, editor. "Devoted to the defence of the doctrine and order of the Presbyterian Church." Published at 159 Main street (over Butler's Bookstore) by Robt. D. Foy. Discontinued after a year or so.

†The *Western Star*. Monday, July 21, 1834. Daily, except Sundays, by James Faxon & Co., No. 6 Terrace Buildings.

The first daily published in Buffalo, and the progenitor, as it were, of the *Buffalo Courier*, as the *Gazette* was of the *Buffalo Commercial*. The *Western Star* was sold for a cent; a small 4-p. paper, 3 cols. to the page. It announced that "all political matter will be excluded from the columns of the *Star*, as it is intended to be circulated among all parties." After the first few issues, it carried a crude woodcut of a newsboy blowing a horn, with the legend: "Be it our object to please." J. C. Brayman did most of the editorial work, though but little was required. Nov. 10, 1834, it became the *Daily Star*, q. v.

A much-repeated error, in published sketches of the early press of Buffalo, is that the first daily was the *Star*, issued in 1831. The fact is, the first daily was the *Western Star*, first issued, as above stated, in July, 1834, more than two years after Buffalo became a city. In that year, due to the activity of lake and canal traffic, the growth of the town, and the vast prospects which seemed to be opening, there developed a veritable craze for daily newspapers. One of the most precarious of business ventures, it tempted many men, though apparently but little capital was enlisted. The modern conception of a daily newspaper did not then exist; but merely as matter of historical record it is worth while to note that the *Western Star*, which was the first, was followed in the same month—July—by the *Rising Sun*, the *News* and the *Inquirer*, all dailies. The daily *Advertiser*—not to be confused with the *Commercial Advertiser*—appeared about that time, apparently in August; and another sheet, the *Western Galaxy*, may have had daily publication for a brief period. Thus the infant city had in 1834 half a dozen dailies—and one or two more were started in 1835. All soon died except the *Star*, which after many changes and consolidations, is the *Courier* of today; and the *Commercial Advertiser*, continuously published since Jan. 1, 1835.

The *Western Temperance Standard*. Ca. 1847. Weekly, successor of the *Western Cataract*, Chauncey Hurlburt, proprietor, Young & Carpenter, publishers, 165 Main street. Discontinued, 1848.

Westminster Chimes. Dec., 1915. Monthly, by a boys' printing class at Westminster House.

Westminster Church Bulletin. Church service order and bulletin. Nov. 19, 1893. Weekly. In 1894, title changed to *Order of Services*, together with the Church Bulletin. June 10, 1906, the name became *Order of Service*, etc. Established immediately after installation as pastor of the Rev. Samuel Van Vranken Holmes, D. D., which occurred Nov. 14, 1893. Issued every

THE WESTERN STAR.

NUMBER 1.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1901.

ONE CENT.

IT IS THE ONLY DAILY PAPER IN THE WESTERN STAR.

BY JAMES H. HARRIS, PROP.

No. 1, 1901.

A. M. HARRIS, PROP.

1901.

ONE CENT.

THE WESTERN STAR.

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ONE CENT.

- Sunday since. Regularly of 4 pp., but expanded on occasion.
(An unbroken file is preserved by the Church.)
- †*Westminster Index*. Jan., 1885, by the Westminster Presbyterian church.
- Buffalo Whig*. 1834. Weekly. David M. Day. In 1835 it was united with the *Journal*. See *Buffalo Whig and Journal*.
- The Daily Whig*. A campaign paper so called had a brief existence in 1835.
- **Buffalo Whig and Journal*. 1835. Weekly, by David M. Day. Jan. 1, 1836, M. Cadwallader and Dr. H. R. Stagg became associated with Day, and in Feb., '36, began issuance of the *Buffalo Daily Journal*, q. v.
- The Whip*. Ca. 1888. Weekly. A sporting publication started by Charles J. Griffiths. The *Whip* was short-lived, its founder and editor subsequently continuing for several years as a writer on one of Buffalo's dailies, until his death, about 1898.
- The Winter Resorter*. Ca. 1898. Monthly. Published at 640 Ellicott Square.
- The Wool Grower*, and Magazine of Agriculture and Horticulture. 1847. Monthly. T. C. Peters, editor and proprietor. Corner Washington and Exchange streets. Discontinued 1852. At one period its title was *The Wool Grower and Monthly Review*.
- **Words of Cheer*. Sept. 21, 1907. Weekly. Saturday (Sept. to July) at 134 Richmond avenue, Rev. L. O. Williams, editor, owner and publisher. In the interest of the Church of the Messiah (1st Universalist).
- **Working Men's Bulletin*. June 5, 1830-Nov. 27, 1830. Weekly, by Horace Steele. Enlarged Aug. 14, 1830. See *Buffalo Bulletin*.
- The Buffalo World*. Ca. 1885. Weekly, by David Paine, 271 Washington street.
- The Buffalo World*. 1892. Monthly, amateur. Data lacking.
- **The Buffalo World*. Saturday. February 7, 1914. A "prospectus number" of a proposed one-cent morning daily, every day in the year. Published by the Erie Publishing Co., 445 Ellicott Square. Vol. I, No. 2, bore no date, and was issued by the Buffalo World Publishing Co., 1004 D. S. Morgan building. Jas. G. Bendell, president; Jacob B. Young, secretary; Geo. H. Gleber, treasurer. June 18th (No. 6), Dr. J. B. Young was announced as editor. In July the price was advanced to two cents per copy. The business office was moved to 241 West Ferry street and the size of the paper was reduced. In February it had proclaimed that there is "no newspaper here now," "all mere partisan and personal organs which ignore, suppress and dodge news." By September 25, 1914, it had sent forth eleven issues, with three styles of heading, a reduction in size and an advance in price. No subsequent issue is known.
- The World's Review*. 1899. Monthly (except July and August). Office 35 Exchange street. Weekly and monthly, at 102 Seneca street, by W. Hazelton.
- Die Worte des Tempels*. (Ger.: "The Words of the Temple.") 1902. Monthly. Philip Paulus, editor, 26 West Peckham street.

The *Wreath*. 1847. Edited by young ladies of the 3d dept., Public School No. 10.

†The *Wyoming Literary Monthly*. Nov., 1881. "Devoted to the study of literature, original literature, current literature, college life." By Chas. Wells Moulton, 402 Main street. Later continued as *Literature, q. v.*, by C. W. Moulton and C. A. Wenborne.

†*The *X-Ray*. Jan., 1898. Monthly. Published by the students of the Buffalo Commercial and Electro-Mechanical Institute.

The *XVith Amendment*. See *Sixteenth Amendment*.

*The *Xi Psi Phi Quarterly*. 1909. Published by the Fraternity four times during the college year. C. L. Storms, A. B., D. D. S., editor and business manager, 915 Main street. Official organ of the Xi Psi Phi Fraternity. published under authority and direction of the Supreme Chapter.

The *Young American*. 1869. Monthly, by pupils of the Buffalo Academy. Office, 133 Franklin street.

Young American. Ca. 1870. Monthly, amateur, by Fred W. Breed, Jr., and Porter Norton. Printed by E. H. Hutchinson.

Young Hickory. 1852. Weekly. Published during the campaign of 1852, supporting Pierce for the Presidency. Geo. J. Bryan, editor.

*The *Young Ladies' Magazine*. 1895. Monthly. Volger & Wild, publishers. 359-363 Washington street. Miss M. A. Barney, editor.

**Young Men's Christian Journal*. Jan., 1859. Monthly. Organ of the Confederation of Young Men's Christian Associations in North America. Appears to have succeeded the *Quarterly Reporter, q. v.*, with which the vol. nos. are continuous. In 1859 N. A. Halbert was editor of the *Journal*.

Young Men's Paper. 1876. Monthly. Published by the Y. M. C. A., 345 Main street.

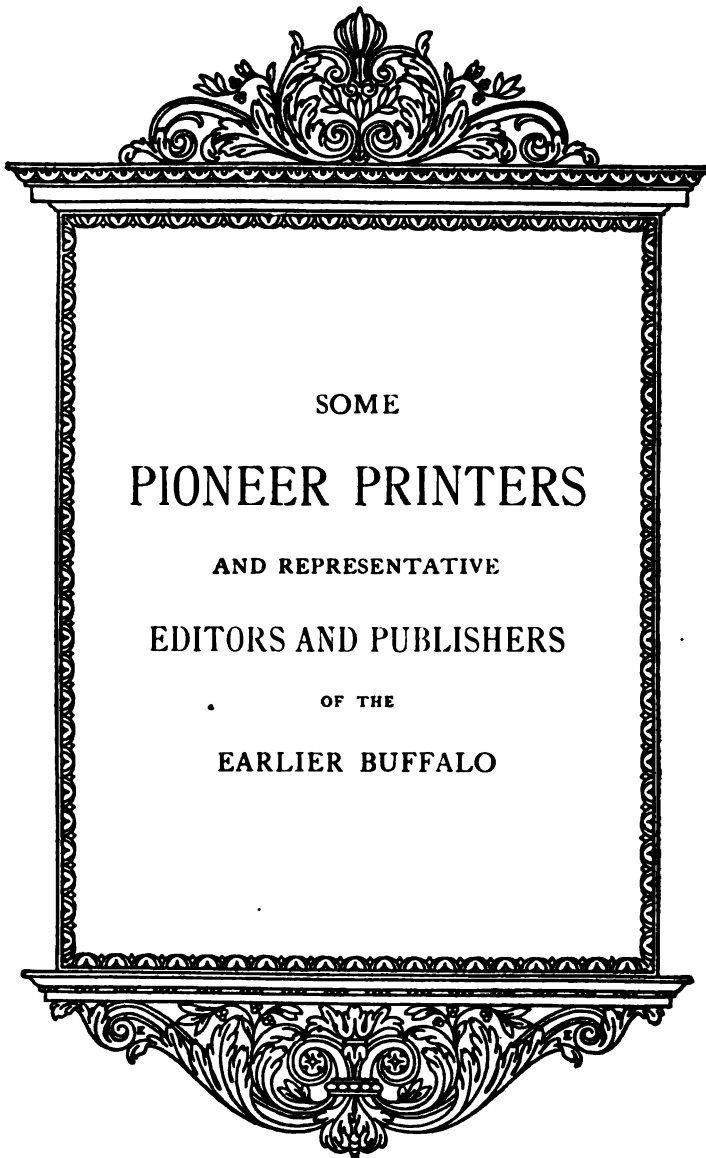
The *Young Men's Temperance Herald*. 1835. Carried on for about a year by Abel M. Grosvenor and Ezra B. French. The first temperance paper published in Buffalo.

†The *Youth's Casket*. 1852. An illustrated magazine for children. Vol. I., Harley Thorne, editor; vol. II., 1853, Jas. O. Brayman, editor. First published by Beadle & VanDuzee, later by E. F. Beadle, then by Beadle & Adams. Continued until about 1860.

Zeichen der Zeit. (Ger.: "Signs of the Times.") June, 1855. Weekly, by John Drexler. In 1858 Gotlieb Ade became its editor.

Die *Zeitschrift*. (Ger.: "The Journal.") Ca. 1858. Weekly. Conrad Baer, editor and proprietor, 3 E. Seneca street. Published about four months.

Further data regarding Buffalo periodicals and some of the men who have edited them will be found under "Editorial Notes," in subsequent pages of this volume.





HEZEKIAH A. SALISBURY

Founder (with his brother) of Buffalo's first newspaper, *The Gazette*, 1811; publisher *The Friend of Youth*, 1839.



GUY H. SALISBURY

**The most distinguished genius of the early Buffalo Press. Connected
with several papers.**



JAMES FAXON

Publisher *Buffalo Bulletin*, 1831. Founder of Buffalo's first daily newspaper, *The Western Star*, 1834.



DANIEL PECK ADAMS

Editor and publisher, the *Black Rock Advocate*, 1836-1837.



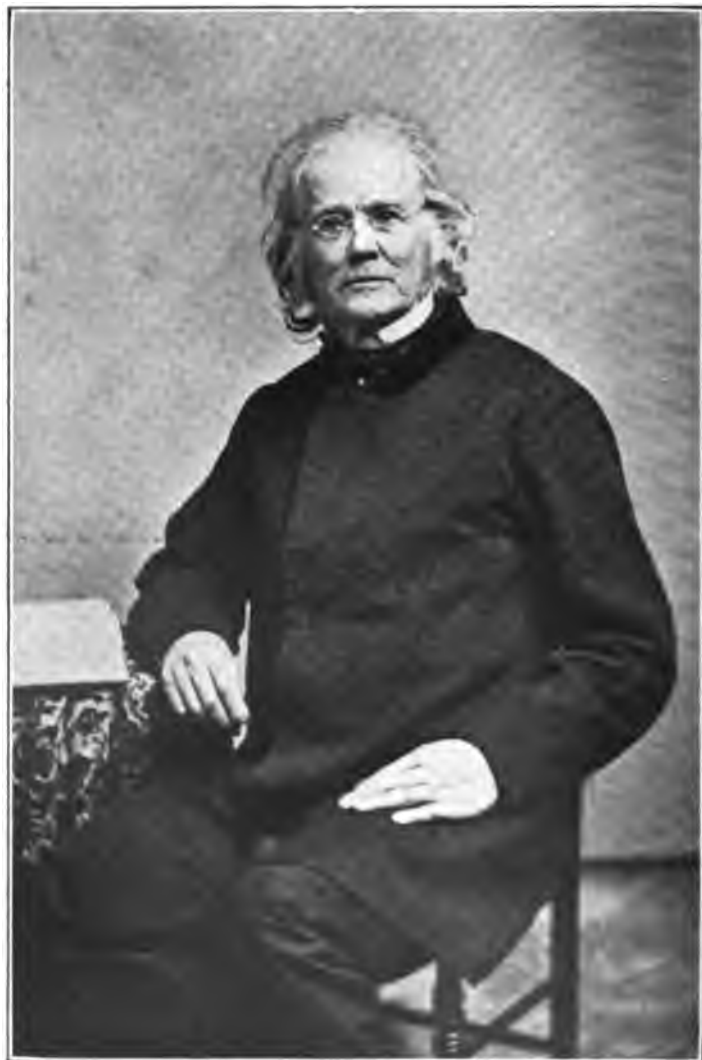
GEN. MASON BRAYMAN

Editor *Buffalo Bulletin*, 1831-35; editor *Buffalo Courier and Pilot*, 1846; and other papers in the West.



JAMES O. BRAYMAN

**Editor and Part owner, *Buffalo Courier*, 1851; associate editor,
The Standard, Chicago; editor of *Youth's Casket*, Buffalo.**



ROSWELL W. HASKINS

Editor, *Buffalo Journal*, 1822-1826; later had editorial connection with the *Patriot and Journal*, the *National Pilot* and the *Express*.



REV. ASHER WRIGHT

Missionary to the Senecas, 1831-1875. Translator, editor and
printer of *The Mental Elevator*, at the Seneca
Mission House, now at South Buffalo.



HON. THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE
Editor *American Celt and Catholic Citizen*, 1852-1853;
assassinated, 1868.



REV. PATRICK CRONIN
Editor *Buffalo Catholic Union and Times*, 1874-1905.



EBENEZER HOWARD ESTABROOKS

**Editor and publisher Buffalo daily *Sun*, 1839-1842. Founder of
the weekly *Sun*, 1839.**



REV. JOHN E. ROBIE

Founder of *The Buffalo Christian Advocate*, 1850.



RUFUS WHEELER

Proprietor *Commercial Advertiser* and weekly *Patriot and Journal*,
1861; later with various newspaper interests.



BRADFORD A. MANCHESTER

Foreman of the *Commercial Advertiser* at its start, January 1, 1835; part owner until 1838; publisher *The Buffalo Gazette*, 1843-44; founder *The National Pilot*, 1846.



SOLON H. LATHROP ELAM R. JEWETT CALVIN F. S. THOMAS DR. THOS. M. FOOTE

FOUR OLD-TIME *COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER* MEN
 From a rare daguerreotype owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.



JAMES D. WARREN

Editor and owner, the *Commercial Advertiser*, 1877-1886.



JOSEPH STRINGHAM

**Editor and proprietor, Buffalo *Mercantile Courier* and weekly
Economist, 1842. Styled "The Father of the *Courier*."**



JOSEPH WARREN

Identified with *The Buffalo Courier*, 1854-1876.



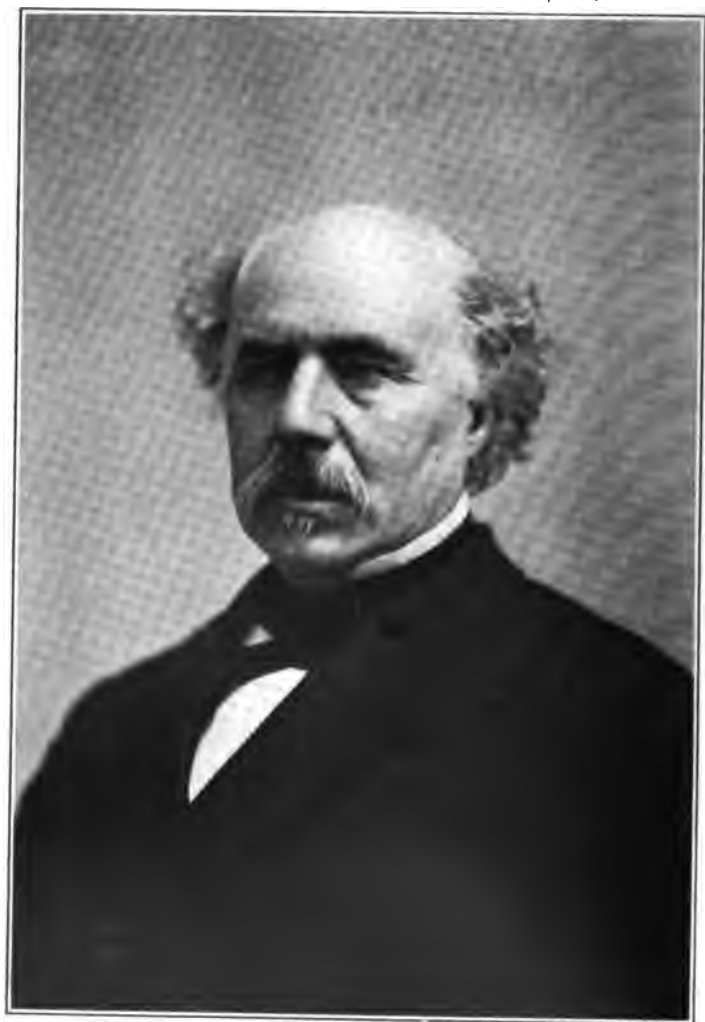
FREDERICK HELD

Founder of the Buffalo daily *Demokrat*, 1852, and proprietor until his death, 1885.



FRIEDRICH REINICKE

Founder Buffalo *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1856, and of the *Freie Presse*, 1860.

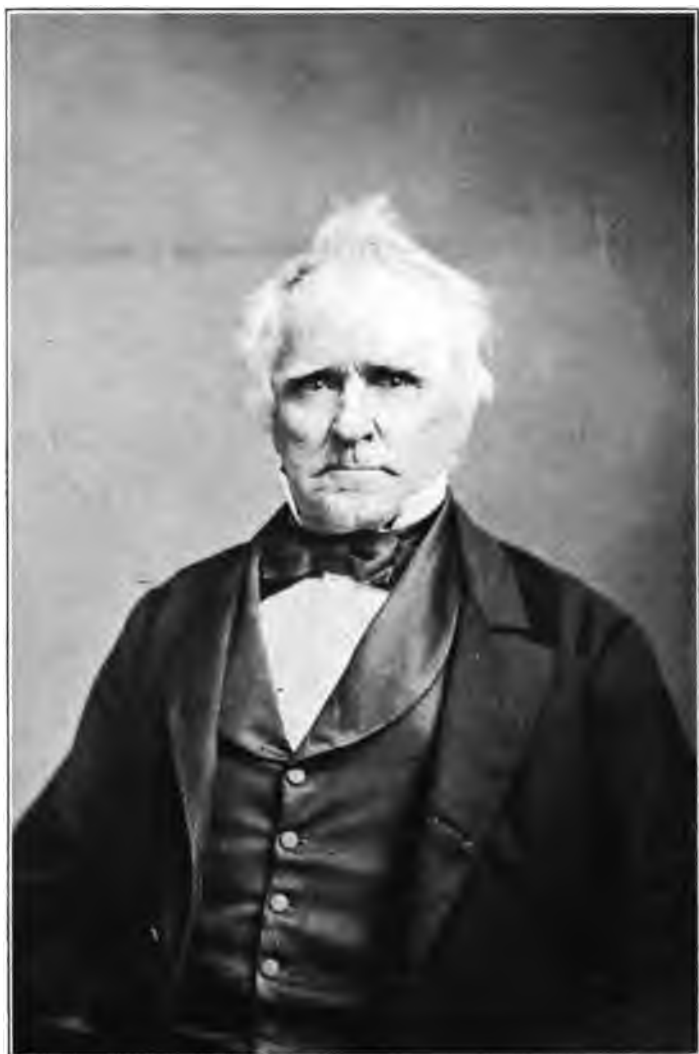


ALMON M. CLAPP
Founder of the *Buffalo Express*, 1846.



JAMES N. MATTHEWS

Editor and proprietor of the *Express*, 1878-1888.



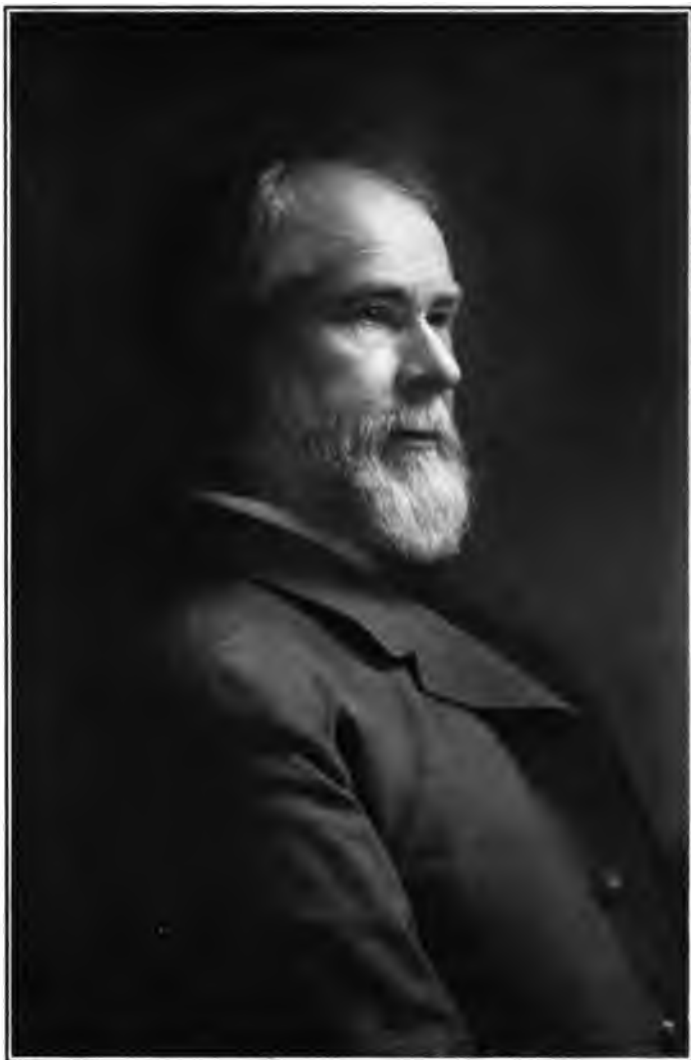
STEPHEN ALBRO

Editor *Age of Progress*, 1854-1858, and other journals.



OTTO F. ALBING

Editorial writer for the *Courier* for many years prior to his death
in 1905.



JOSEPH O'CONNOR
Managing editor *Buffalo Courier*, 1882-1895.



DAVID GRAY

With *The Courier*, 1859-1884; as managing editor, 1876-1882

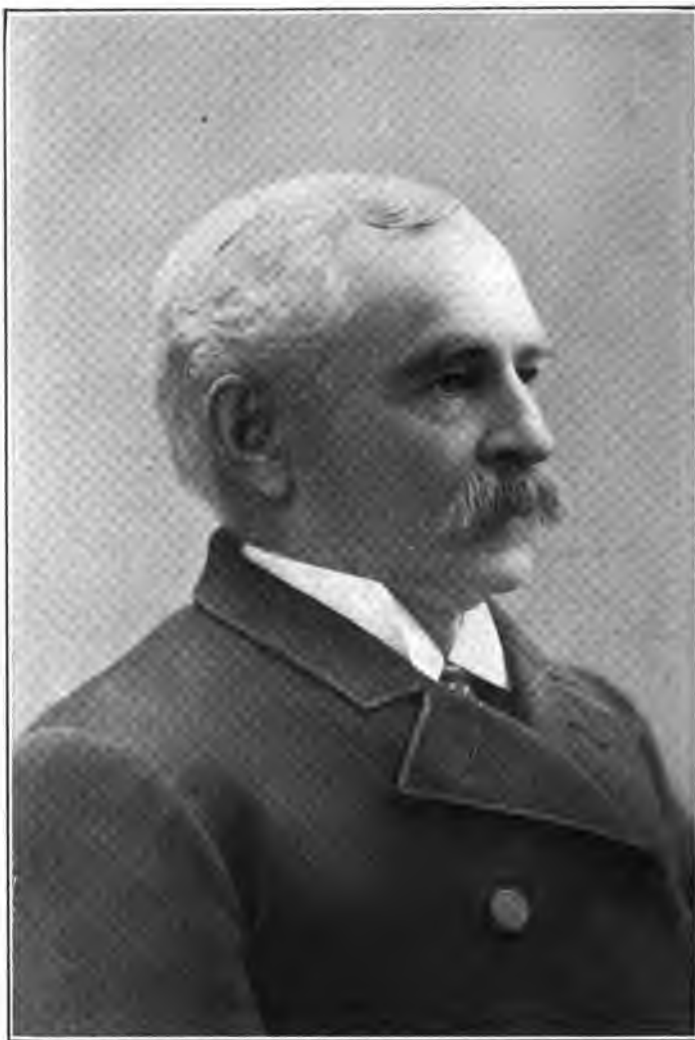


FRANCIS ASBURY CRANDALL

**Managing editor *The Express*, 1878-1886. Later with the *Courier*
and *Times*.**



HON. ALBION W. TOURGEE
Editor and proprietor *The Basis*, 1895-1896.



FRANCIS F. FARGO

Editor of various Western journals; associate editor of the *Buffalo Express* and the *Times*.



CHARLES WELLS MOULTON

Editor *Queries*, 1885-1889; editor and proprietor *Magazine of Poetry*, 1889-1896.



EDWARD H. BUTLER

**Editor and proprietor *Sunday Morning News*, 1873-1914, and of
the *Evening News*, 1880-1914.**

EDITORIAL NOTES.

MR. LARNED'S WRITINGS.—In gathering and printing in this volume a number of Mr. Larned's essays and early papers of local historical import, the editor is confident of the approbation of many into whose hands this volume will come. Mr. Larned was, beyond question, for many years, Buffalo's foremost man of letters. He was an active and beloved member and manager of the Buffalo Historical Society; and it is deemed eminently fitting, to make such recognition as we can in these Publications, of his work and worth.

One thing cannot fail to impress thoughtful readers of the papers here printed: Mr. Larned never failed to judge men by their character. It was character that lifted a man in his esteem and final estimate, and no success appealed to him unless founded on the rock of upright, honest and earnest character. This was what appealed to him, in his studies of Washington, of Lincoln; it was what he found lacking in Napoleon.

There was always something akin to preaching in Mr. Larned's utterances, though never the quality we term preachment. He was a moralist, a philosopher with an analytical mind; and whether his theme was patriotism, or the teaching of books, or the fundamentals of socialism, he never failed to point out that good comes to humanity through the forceful expression of exalted individual character, and that ills follow from the lack of it. His symposium on "Evil," here printed from a source perhaps unfamiliar to some of our readers, is in our estimation a masterly clear exposition of the fundamentals of human conduct.

TWO TRIBUTES.—From the many tributes to Mr. Larned's worth, which his death elicited, the following, a portion of a letter to Mrs. Larned from Mr. John G. Milburn, may well have place here:

Gray, Wright,—and now Larned! Of the innermost circle only Johnston and I are left. The youngest of them all, I felt their influence most deeply. I have always deemed that influence one of the profoundest facts in my life. I was just twenty-two when my association with them began, close on to forty years ago. I had just started out in the world as a lawyer and a man among men. They fixed standards and ideals for me which, however far short I have fallen in realizing them, have ever pervaded my thoughts, aims, and purposes.

What men they were! How able, considerate, sweet and generous, and pure in mind and soul! I felt for each of them, and shall always feel until my turn comes, a true and deep affection. I do not know

what the hereafter has in store for us, but I hope that they are reunited and that when my time comes I am deemed worthy to join them.

I have always regarded Larned as the ablest intellect in Buffalo, and one of the ablest in the country. The work he did and that he has left behind him proves it. But it was not his intellect alone that drew me to him. I have never known a more direct or purer character or a more kindly heart. It was the elevation of his thoughts and feelings that most impressed me. He never thought a mean thought or spoke a mean word. He would be indignant but never mean. And was there ever any one more generous in his estimates and appreciations of others or more considerate in the allowance he made for our human failings! I shall always feel that he was a fine representative of the highest type of manhood.

Among all the tributes to the worth and character of Mr. Larned, none was truer, or better expressed, than the resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society, April 24, 1914. It may appropriately be preserved in these records, and here follows:

In the death of J. N. Larned this Society and the City of Buffalo suffer a loss which it is difficult adequately to set forth in words.

He was the highest type of citizen. The keynote of his life and character was simplicity, but not the simplicity which implies the least weakness. He was perhaps the wisest man among us in the wisdom which means scholarship; but he was wise too in counsel and in straight thinking concerning the problems of daily life and the conduct of government.

He cared little for the common successes of men but immensely for the success of mankind.

He never sought place at the hands of his fellow-citizens, but when they called upon him to lead them in any good cause, he did not shrink from leadership.

In all the relations of life he was true and tender. His life was without blame, and the way he trod was the finest and highest in his vision.

He was devotedly interested in the movement for peace between Nations; he gave to this cause generously of his time and advice; he was President of this Society for two years, and only those closely associated with him know what this has meant to them and to the work.

We record with sorrow the loss of this best of citizens, this best of friends, and would add our tribute to the memory of a man whose life is an example of the most admirable type of man America has produced.

CARLTON SPRAGUE,
SAMUEL V. V. HOLMES,
WALTER L. BROWN,
Committee.

MR. LARNED AS HUMORIST.—One bit of philosophical playfulness for which Mr. Larned appears to have been responsible is probably unknown to many who know his writings well.

In October, 1874, there was held in Buffalo, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, an "Authors' Carnival." To add to the gayety of the occasion, and augment the income, a daily paper was published, called the *Carnival Times*. Just who bore the principal editorial responsibility does not appear; but that there was no lack of available talent is seen in the contributions which came from such competent—not to say, gifted—Buffalonians as Miss Annie R. Annan, Mrs. Julia F. Snow, David Gray, John G. Milburn, Adolph Duschak, J. N. Larned. This was more than 40 years ago—but could the town do better now, in a literary way?

The contribution which we attribute to Mr. Larned is signed merely "J. N. L.," but surely that is identification enough. If Buffalo had in 1874 another "J. N. L.," does any one suppose that he could write such wise nonsense as appeared over those initials in the *Carnival Times*? It purported to be the "Sayings of Che-Foo-Tsin, translated from the Chinese for the *Carnival Times*," and runs as follows:

I should like to see a world peopled with men alone, just to learn what kind of creatures they would become; but I never expect to. There would be but one man in it at a time. He would have eaten all the rest.

I should like, too, to see a world peopled with women alone; but I never shall—I would not dare to go near it.

I should like to be the most perfect of human beings—but not till after I am dead and in another state of existence; for it is a sad thing to have no character among one's fellows.

I wish that I had ingenuity enough to steal without being caught in it; because reputation and respect in the world are pleasant things to secure.

I am told that the human breath poisons the air, and that the trees have to keep it pure by sucking the poison out. It seems to me that a great many people are put into the world for nothing but to make hard work for the trees. I do not understand it.

There is an awful catastrophe that I am in dread of. I am afraid that we shall learn some day to read one another's thoughts. That will be the end of society, and of marriage. We shall have to live alone after that.

I knew a man once who did not like to have his name in the newspapers. I have not seen him since I was a boy. I think he is dead.

When I was young I had thoughts of marrying, and I began to look for a wife whom all women would speak well of; but I have never found her. I have wasted my time.

There was a place set apart in Heaven for good wives who could judge a wicked thing as harshly when a man did it as when a woman did it. But it has never been occupied, I believe.

I foolishly applied myself once to the study of the laws. It is fortunate that I gave it up, for I should have been sorry to lose all sense of justice.

Since my eyes began to grow dim, and I do not read any more, I find myself growing daily in wisdom.

I dreamed last night that I had three friends. How crazy we are in our sleep!

THE PEACE CENTENARY.—The observance of the Centenary of peace between the United States and Great Britain was everywhere much modified by the Great War. In many places all projects for its observance were abandoned. On the Niagara Frontier, instead of the elaborate ceremonies which had been proposed, the exercises were limited to suitable services in the churches, on or near the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Peace; and to public meetings, usually organized by the schools, on the anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty. This date was February 17, 1915, on which day exceptionally interesting exercises were held at Niagara Falls, N. Y., where the Hon. Peter A. Porter, and Mr. John W. Williams of La Salle, made appropriate addresses. There was an exchange of friendly messages by telegraph between the mayors of American and Canadian cities.

In Buffalo, this "Peace Day" was marked by a fine meeting at Hutchinson High School, shared in by the Buffalo High Schools, the University of Buffalo, Canisius College, the Teachers' Training School and D'Youville College. Besides excellent speeches by students, and much patriotic music, addresses were made by Rev. Geo. J. Grim, president of Canisius College; by Charles P. Norton, Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, and Julian Park of the same institution; Dr. Henry P. Emerson, Superintendent of Education; Mrs. John Miller Horton and others representing patriotic, educational and historical institutions; among them Hon. Henry W. Hill, president of the Buffalo Historical Society, who spoke at length on "International Treaties and Results flowing Therefrom." President Hill's address has been published in pamphlet form.

LETTERS OF A PEACE EPISODE.—In the preceding volume of this series ("Peace Episodes on the Niagara") an extended account was given of the Peace Conference at Niagara Falls in 1864, at which Horace Greeley and Major John Hay carried on certain abortive negotiations with alleged agents of the Southern Confederacy. A number of letters which passed between President Lincoln, Greeley

and others, were printed. Since that publication, a few others have been learned of, which, to fill out the record, are here submitted. John Hay at the time was President Lincoln's trusted and discreet secretary, and so far as the Niagara Conference was concerned, served only as an intermediary for the exchange of communications. William Cornell Jewett, an active and officious person, was prolific with his letters, especially to the President; regarding which, the following note from Major Hay, addressed to Jewett at Niagara Falls, has obvious point:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

Washington, July 18.

SIR:—In the exercise of my duty as Secretary in charge of the President's correspondence, it is necessary for me to use a certain discretion in the choice of letters to be submitted to the personal inspection of the President. In order to avoid a further waste of time on your part, I have to inform you that your letters are never so submitted. My proceeding in this matter has the sanction of the President.

I am, Sir, very truly,
Your Obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

WM. CORNELL JEWETT, etc.

A recently published biography of John Hay gives some account of his participation in the Niagara Peace Conference, though with less of detail than in the Buffalo Historical Society paper above referred to. It does not give Secretary Hay's note, above printed, nor the following communication to the so-called Confederate Commissioners:

NIAGARA FALLS, July 20, 1864.

HON. C. C. CLAY, HON. J. B. THOMPSON, HON. GEORGE N. SAUNDERS, HON. BEVERLY TUCKER, and the other Hon. Representatives of the Southern Confederacy.

GENTLEMEN:—I am directed by Mr. Greeley to acknowledge the receipt of the following telegram from Mr. Clay:

ST. CATHARINES, July, 20, 1864.

TO GEORGE N. SAUNDERS:

Will be with you at five o'clock. Detain Greeley until I see him.

C. C. CLAY,

and to state that in view of his mission being ended, through the rejection of the terms of negotiation in the letter of the President of the United States, delivered to you by Major Hay, he does not feel himself authorized to take any further steps in the matter. He regrets the sad termination of the steps taken for peace, from the change

made by the President in his instruction given him to convey commissioners to Washington for negotiations unconditionally.

He will be pleased to receive any answer you may have to make in writing through me or any mode you may desire.

I enclose you a copy of a note from Mr. Greeley addressed to me, justifying the intercourse I have had with you during this short negotiation for peace. In conclusion I tender you my heartfelt thanks for the kind and generous manner in which you have received me personally, and for the noble and magnanimous sentiments you have advanced in a desire to end the bloody conflict between the two sections. I can only regret that our Government should not have seen the policy, duty and justice of meeting your generous offer to meet in council unconditionally—terms of a peace to depend upon circumstances transpiring during negotiations. My efforts shall be as ever unceasing for peace that shall secure to the section you represent that justice which shall meet with the approval of the civilized world, of the coming International Congress proposed by the wise and noble Napoleon.

Very truly,

WM. CORNHILL JEWETT.

No one seems to have regarded Jewett very seriously, except perhaps Mr. Greeley, who before leaving Niagara Falls, sent him the following note:

NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y., July 20, 1864.

W. C. JEWETT, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—In leaving the Falls I feel bound to state that I have had no intercourse with the Confederate gentlemen at the Clifton House, but such as I was fully authorized to hold by the President of the United States, and that I have done nothing in the premises but in fulfillment of his injunctions. The notes, therefore, which you have kindly interchanged between those gentlemen and myself, can in no case subject you to the imputation of unauthorized dealing with public enemies.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

"I'll try, sir." MILLER.—For a hundred years historians of the War of 1812 have delighted to tell how Colonel James Miller, being ordered to attack and capture a British battery on the hill at Lundy's Lane responded, "I'll try, sir," and with splendid grit and good shooting, did capture it. The story has escaped the usual fate of anecdotes of that class. No investigator has come along to tell us that Miller never said it and perhaps switch the glory of the exploit to some one else. All the evidence, so far as noted, is to effect that Colonel Miller did say, "I'll try, sir," and—what is of more consequence—that he did try; and, most important of all, not only that he said he would try, and did try, but that he succeeded. After

the lapse of a full century, we may regard the evidence as all in, and accept the incident as a fixed fact of history.

It is further related that after the capture of the battery General Brown said to Colonel Miller: "You have immortalized yourself." We do not know whether history can stand for this remark or not; but certain it is that Colonel Miller was soon brevetted brigadier general. He again splendidly distinguished himself at Fort Erie; and after the war New York State gave him a sword, and Congress bestowed on him a gold medal, which Daniel Webster handed to him one fine day in City Hall Park, New York, to the acclaim of a great throng of admiring citizens.

General Miller rounded out the career of a good soldier with various civil services; and dying, July 7, 1851, was buried in Salem, N. H., where a monument records his gallant deeds. Some years ago (July 4, 1892) the citizens of his native town of Peterborough, N. H., set aside and dedicated a beautiful tract on the high slopes of Mount Monadnock, to be known as Miller Park; and in August, 1915, the Peterborough Historical Society, with interesting exercises, dedicated a boulder and tablet, placed on the site of General Miller's birthplace. New Hampshire, as well as New York State and the Nation, has worthily shared in preserving the memory of this hero of the Niagara Frontier.

SOME PARKMAN LETTERS.—There have come into the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society a few letters of the historian Parkman, which are of interest, especially to others engaged in historical work.

That of earliest date was written by Mr. Parkman at the age of 26. But five years out of college, he had already fixed upon the field of historical research and authorship which was to be his life-work, and had made the arduous journey the delightful record of which, "The Oregon Trail," was published in this same year of 1849. The letter in question was penned by a secretary but signed by the young historian; was addressed to O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, and is as follows:

Boston, May 6, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to enclose to you a letter of introduction from Mr. E. G. Squier; as I cannot promise myself at present the pleasure of an interview, I take this means of transmitting it; being very unwilling to omit so excellent an opportunity of gaining the acquaintance of a gentleman who has engaged so deeply and successfully in studies which for many years have been my favorite pursuits.

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For some time past I have entertained the plan of writing, at some future period, a general history of the Indians. At present, however, my investigations are restricted to a much narrower compass. I have collected a great mass of materials, illustrating the period immediately succeeding the Old French War—at which time, as you are well aware, a general rising of the northern tribes against the English took place. Those events are not only highly interesting in themselves, but by the aid of the materials now in my hands, afford an admirable opportunity of representing Indian manners and character.

My studies have been almost wholly interrupted for more than two years, by the state of my health and the useless condition of my eyes, which are quite unavailable either for reading or writing. The disorders from which I suffer, are of a character which render mental exertion of any kind highly injurious, and often impossible—so much so, that I have been compelled to wait for several days to find an opportunity even for dictating this letter. There is no probability of escaping, for some time at least, from this very uncomfortable predicament; so that, as you may suppose, my schemes are not in a very progressive state. I lay on my oars, and wait for better times, doing a little meanwhile in the way of collecting and arranging materials, in which work my friends' eyesight supplies the place of my own.

I am very happy to hear from Mr. Squier, that some of the results of your researches are likely to appear before the public, accompanied by a map of the Iroquois cantons. Next to laboring upon a favorite field yourself, is the satisfaction of seeing it cultivated ably and successfully by others, and I hope to see from your hands many more papers of equal interest and value with your observations on Denonville's expedition. I envy you your opportunities of local inquiry among the remnants of a people more worthy of study than all the other Indian tribes united.

Can you direct me to any sources of information in regard to the condition of the Iroquois about the year 1763? At that time and for some years previous the Senecas seem to have held singular relations with the Delawares—to have been mingled with them in several of their more southern villages, and to have acted in conjunction with them on many occasions.

I should be much indebted to you for any information upon this subject, or for anything that may throw farther light upon the general relation of the Iroquois with the tribes to the south of them.

Hoping to be able to meet you hereafter in person, I am, with much respect,

Your obedient

F. PARKMAN, JR.

P. S.—I beg your acceptance of the volume of sketches mentioned by Mr. Squier which I have sent to Buffalo by express.

Mr. E. G. Squier, referred to in the foregoing letter, was perhaps the best-known and ablest of the earlier archaeologists of America, still looked upon as an authority, especially on the antiquities of

Central America. In 1848 Mr. Squier spent much time in Buffalo and elsewhere in Western New York, studying the mounds, earthworks, and other traces of pre-historic Indian occupancy. He surveyed, mapped and described the ancient work now in part included in Seneca Park, South Buffalo. The results of his researches in this vicinity are published in Volume II., "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," and also in Mr. Squier's well-known work, "Antiquities of the West," published in Buffalo by Geo. H. Derby & Co., 1851.

Mr. Marshall had before this gained some reputation as a student of Indian history and archæology. Between him and Mr. Squier there were bonds of common interest. Squier was a good explorer, but Marshall knew the local territory before Squier came into it. It is not unlikely that Marshall had a hand in the explorations hereabouts for which E. G. Squier has received the credit.

Between Mr. Marshall and Francis Parkman there existed a long and cherished friendship. Parkman recognized the thorough and trustworthy character of Mr. Marshall's work, and in more than one of his volumes refers to Mr. Marshall as authority. Many years after the letter above printed was written, we find Mr. Parkman writing as follows:

50 CHESTNUT ST., BOSTON, 27 March, '82.

DEAR MR. MARSHALL:—Mr. Ed. G. Mason of Chicago sent me Shea's foolish judgment on La Salle. It is mere prejudice, groundless and unworthy. LaSalle's life and letters tell their own story in a language unmistakable to any mind not utterly warped by passionate prejudgments.

I wish I could go to New Orleans, but it is out of the question. Spoffard's delays are unpardonable. Henry Stevens said to me last summer: "They say I am the worst correspondent in the world, but they lie. Spoffard beats me all hollow. I sometimes answer a letter; he never does."

It is some time since I have heard from Margry. His wife is an excellent influence. She steadies him and makes him live with some reasonable regard to health, which he has compromised all his days by excessive work and sedentary habits.

Montcalm¹ gets on, but the mass of material is such that the work is slow, for finding needles in a haystack needs time and patience. I hope your health is the better for your southern journeys, and that you find time and strength for history.

With cordial regard,

Yours truly,

F. PARKMAN.

Mr. Parkman and Dr. John Gilmary Shea were at the same period students of the records relating to LaSalle and his explora-

1. Referring to his work, "Montcalm and Wolfe," published in 1834.

He was editor of the *Standard*. While still a resident of Buffalo, he wrote a work entitled "Loving Jesus of America: History with Unapproachable Evidence." It was an illustrated volume and was published in Buffalo in 1852.

The same volume, Mason had a more varied and picturesque career which can only be very briefly sketched here. He is one of the few Buffalo editors who have gotten into the correspondence.

While still working for Buffalo newspapers, he studied law, becoming a Member of the Bar. He was elected city attorney. Another move was made in Western Ohio, where he edited the *Daily Advertiser*. In 1854 he left his office at Springfield, Ill., and held in each station as a lawyer and the task of codifying the laws of the state was entrusted to him. He negotiated the terms which secured the peaceful removal of the Mormons from Nauvoo, and he got the charter of the Illinois Central Railroad through the Legislature.

When the Civil War broke out, Mason Brayman enlisted as a private in the 23d Illinois Volunteers. He soon became major, then was made lieutenant-general on McClelland's staff. His war record is a full one and most of it we pass over now. After the battle of Vicksburg, having in was made Colonel of the 29th. He had known Fremont in the Springfield law practice; now, in September, 1862, the President appointed him brigadier-general. Soon after this appointment General Brayman visited Buffalo; and there may be some gray heads yet who remember a rather notable address he made at Fort Porter. Later he was made major-general by brevet; and at the close of the war resumed his law practice at Springfield. He had never relinquished his liking for newspaper work; he became part owner of the *Whig*, at Quincy, Ill.; and was one of the founders of the *Illinois Journal*, at Springfield. In 1873 he removed to Wisconsin, and was editing the *Wisconsin Commonwealth* when President Grant appointed him Governor of Idaho Territory. At the end of a stormy four-year term he returned to Wisconsin. His last years were passed with a daughter at Kansas City, where he died February 27, 1895. He was for a period, president of the American Baptist Publication Society; was a trustee of Chicago University, and a founder of the Chicago Historical Society. He last visited Buffalo in 1889, the guest of his nephew, Mr. George D. Emerson.

A MAGAZINE IN MANUSCRIPT.—Mason Brayman was the first amateur journalist in Buffalo. There are preserved a few copies of *The Moralist*, "by Adrian Buffalo," dated, No. 2, Dec. 5, 1831; No. 4, Oct. 6, 1832; No. 13, March 23, 1833. Also, *The Moralist*

and *Sentinel*, July, 1832, "by Adrian Buffalo and Paul Shack." "Adrian Buffalo" is known to have been Mason Brayman who was 18 years old at the time; "Paul Shack" may have been his brother James. These curious "magazines" are entirely in manuscript, each number containing eight pages except No. 13, which has but four pages.

A PRINTERS' SOCIETY IN 1836.—In June, 1836, the Buffalo Typographical Society was formed "for benevolent objects and for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an uniform scale of prices." Meetings were held, on the first Saturday evening in each month. There were then no Sunday papers to spoil the freedom of the printers' Saturday night, and one can imagine that these journeymen, in their hours of ease, did not devote all of their energies to business. Their organization was probably the first to undertake to regulate printers' wages in Buffalo. William Verrinder, publisher of the *Literary Inquirer*, was president for a time, and a leading spirit in its councils. Quartus Graves and Abraham Dinamore, afterwards prominent as publishers in the growing town, were also active in its work.

A FAMOUS PRINTER.—Note has been made (p. 214) of the early printing business in Buffalo of C. F. S. Thomas. In 1839 he was conducting the job-printing business connected with the *Buffalo Journal*. In 1844 the firm of Thomas & Co. was merged with Jewett & Co., and in 1857 Mr. Thomas became superintendent of the *Commercial* establishment. Mr. Thomas subsequently started a job office of his own, and obtained contracts from the Government for printing post-office blanks, furnishing twine, etc. In consequence of some alleged irregularity, a prosecution was begun against Mr. Thomas, which resulted in his giving up business in Buffalo. He removed to Springfield, Mo. In 1876, while on a visit to his son-in-law, Mr. Charles E. Bacon, in Buffalo, he was taken ill, and died, September 19th.

His full name was Calvin Frederick St. John Thomas. A native of New York City, where he was born August 5, 1808, he came to Buffalo in 1833 or '34, and soon was in charge of the printing office of Mr. Oliver G. Steele. Before coming to Buffalo he had engaged in publishing. He is said to have published a weekly paper in Goshen, Orange Co. One evidence of his early enterprise is a notable one. The first edition of Edgar A. Poe's "Tamerlane," one of the rarest of books, which has brought as high as \$2,500 at public sale,

was absent in Boston in 1857 and the publisher whose imprint is on the title-page was "John F. & Thomas."

THOMAS L. NICHOLS.—Some note has been made in connection with the career of the *Buffalo Evening Express* of the diversified career, in fact not yet, of its most famous editor, Thomas L. Nichols. A great deal might be added, and still not in that worthy full justice. In leaving America in 1841 he went to London, where he appears to have passed throughout the rest of a long and active life. He married a water cure "doctress," and became known himself as "M. D." He wrote, besides his voluminous "Forty Years of American Life," a number of medical or pseudo-medical works: "Human Physiology the Basis of Sanitary and Social Science"; "The Human Light: Physiology for the Young"; "Ecteric Anthropology (The Mysteries of Man)," a copy of which the late Dr. Knowell Park had in his library, and is now owned by the Buffalo Public Library. It is more curious than useful. The later activities of this whilom Buffalo editor were at least practical. During a London visit, some years ago, the writer one day ran across a "free army kitchen," and learned that it was one of several carried on by this Mr. Thomas L. Nichols. He also published works entitled "Mental Life," "How to Cook," "The Diet-Cure: Eating to Live," and "How to Live on Sixpence a Day." Evidently his later years did somewhat make amends for the follies of his youth as a Buffalo editor.

REV. JOHN E. ROBIE.—The most representative figure in the earlier journalism of the Methodist Episcopal church in Western New York is the Rev. John E. Robie. He was a practical printer who as early as 1841 had started a weekly paper in Auburn styled the *Northern Advocate*. This paper was sold in 1844 to the General Conference. Mr. Robie removed to Rochester and established the *Genesee Evangelist*, which he conducted until 1849, when he sold it to the Presbyterians and came to Buffalo, where, on Jan. 1, 1850, he first issued the *Buffalo Christian Advocate*. It flourished until 1861, when its founder became chaplain of the 21st Regiment, N. Y. V. After an eventful war record, during which he was for a time held prisoner by the Confederates, he returned to Buffalo and served as presiding elder of the Buffalo District, 1866-1870. On his way home from a session of the General Conference, in Brooklyn, he was taken ill and died at Cowleville, N. Y., May 26, 1872.

"FATHER OF THE 'COURIER.'"—Joseph Stringham has been styled "The Father of the *Buffalo Courier*," though James Faxon, originator of the *Western Star*, is perhaps more strictly entitled to that distinction. Mr. Stringham was born in the West Indies about 1810, but received his boyhood schooling in the United States, and came to Buffalo in the early 40's. In 1842, as above stated, he became proprietor of the *Republican*, and also of the *Democratic Economist*, which was being published by Henry Burwell and edited by Henry White. Mr. Stringham renamed them, being the first to use the name *Courier* as part of a cumbersome title, which probably in popular usage was always simplified to one word. Mr. Stringham was active and prominent in his day and generation. He was cashier of the old City Bank, Clerk of the Common Council, president of the Buffalo Insurance Co., and served a term as State Treasurer.

About 1875 he loaned his brother a large sum of money on a tract of land near Oshkosh, Wis. The property later came into his possession, occupied by squatter tenants who proved troublesome. The Hon. James O. Putnam, who was a close friend of Mr. Stringham, used to tell how one morning he found him poring over a map in his office at the bank. Mr. Stringham looked up wearily and exclaimed: "I am disgusted with my wealth!" Mr. Stringham later removed to Oshkosh and became mayor of that city; and there he died, a wealthy bachelor, Feb. 13, 1900.

DANIEL PECK ADAMS.—Another old-time printer, editor and publisher, whose memory should be preserved in the local annals of the craft, was Daniel Peck Adams. Born in Scipio, Cayuga Co., N. Y., in 1801, he came to Buffalo in 1817. For a time he carried the mails on horseback between Buffalo, Black Rock and Niagara Falls. He moved to New York City, then came back to Western New York. The *People's Press*, at Batavia, had been started in 1825 by Benjamin Blodgett. The next year Mr. Adams, with two associates, Martin and Thorp, acquired it. The firm later became Adams & McCleary. The paper was merged with the *Spirit of the Times*, and Mr. Adams, after a brief residence at Medina, returned to the Niagara, and at Black Rock, Feb. 11, 1836, issued the first number of the *Black Rock Advocate*. In his initial address to his readers, he lamented "the baneful effects on the peace and prosperity of other villages produced by the introduction of violent party politics into country newspapers." and pledged himself that so far as the *Advocate* was concerned, "the publisher will carefully abstain from anything calculated to impart to this establishment the character of a partisan press." From the

start, however, Mr. Adams was ardent in upholding the interests of Black Rock, as opposed to those of the rival village of Buffalo, and he made the *Advocate* an uncommonly newswy and interesting journal. Mr. Adams later removed to Buffalo, where he carried on a printing business for some years, and was connected with several newspapers. He died at Batavia in 1872.

One of the rarest pamphlets in all the vast literature of the War of 1812 was printed by D. P. Adams. This is "Chapin's Review of Armstrong's 'Notices of the War of 1812,'" and bears the imprint: "Black Rock: D. P. Adams, printer, *Advocate* office, 1836." It is a 50-page pamphlet, signed by Cyrenius Chapin, a famous pioneer of Buffalo. A copy in the Historical Society library, which formerly belonged to Alexander J. Sheldon (editor of the *Scientific Commercial* of Buffalo and librarian of the Grosvenor Library), bears this note: "This book was written by James Sheldon, attorney-at-law, in 1836, for Dr. Chapin."

BUFFALO'S FIRST SUNDAY NEWSPAPER.—Buffalo's first Sunday newspaper, the *Bulletin*, appeared in 1849, and under the guidance of two men highly respected in the community—William F. Rogers and Stephen Albro. Whatever of popular prejudice there may have been at that time against Sunday newspapers—and there was much—could have found no basis in the *Bulletin*, which was, for that period, a model of propriety. A later-day aversion to Sunday newspapers was largely due to the objectionable character of the papers themselves. For a period, perhaps not wholly past, the publishers of Sunday newspapers—unconnected with a daily—seemed to feel that their especial mission was sensationalism and the exploitation of scandal. Buffalo, in its time, has known that type of Sunday paper; but several decades before that objectionable phase of journalism developed, the Buffalo *Bulletin* ran its short but highly respectable career.

William F. Rogers merits remembrance among the newspaper men of Buffalo, although best known by reason of other and more distinguished services in after years. Born near Easton, Pa., in 1820, he was a practical printer when he came to Buffalo in 1846. He worked as a compositor on the *Express*, just started. The next year he was one of the founders of the *Republic* and in 1849 established the *Bulletin*. In politics Mr. Rogers belonged to the "Barn-burners" faction of the Democrats, which the *Republic*—later the *Times-Republic*—ardently supported. He was soon active in military affairs; was a member of the famous Company D., Buffalo City Guards; then a major general in the State militia; and at the outbreak of the Civil

War was captain of Co. C, 74th Regiment. He became colonel of the famous 21st, and after two years of hard fighting in the Maryland and Virginia campaigns was breveted brigadier general. He was subsequently provost marshal of the 30th New York district, and for many years major general of the Eighth Division, New York National Guard.

His service continued notable in municipal and national affairs. He was successively city auditor, comptroller and mayor of Buffalo; was the first president of Buffalo's Park Commission; and in 1883 was elected to Congress. Among various offices which he held in later life were those of Past Commander, G. A. R., Department of New York State; Past President, New York Military Association; and Superintendent of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Bath. In all the long list of Buffalo's newspaper men few, if any, have played a more active part, or won a more certain place in public esteem, than William F. Rogers, publisher of Buffalo's first Sunday newspaper.

THE SERVICE OF JOSEPH WARREN.—The early press of Buffalo was unbelievably dull. The writers seemed to have no conception of the possibilities of their profession. The value of details, in a report of local occurrences, seems not to have been recognized until comparatively recent years. Today, any reporter worthy to hold a desk on a daily newspaper, must be able to picture a scene in a few sentences; to give the news kernel of his story at the outset—for the edification of the hurried reader—and then to amplify as space permits. There are many newspaper writers today who make of their routine assignments as fine literary bits as—shall we say, some of Maupassant's best short stories. They study life, and know how to picture it.

No one did more to bring in the era of readable news reporting, for the press of Buffalo, than Joseph Warren. For 18 years the editor of the *Courier*, he began as the best local writer it had known, up to his time. When he died, in 1876, the *Courier* paid this tribute:

Local reporting was in its infancy in the Buffalo press in those days [the '50's] and Mr. Warren was among the first to infuse in it something of modern enterprise. A full report which he made, single-handed, of a banquet of Neptune Hose Company, was one of his early triumphs. Such a thing as reporting in full in the morning paper speeches made the night before, had not been attempted previously, and it marked an epoch in local journalism.

AN OLD BUSINESS CARD.—Here is a facsimile of the business card of the *Buffalo Courier* some 60 years ago:

MANCHESTER & CO.,
PUBLISHERS OF THE
BUFFALO COURIER,

DAILY, WEEKLY & TRI-WEEKLY.

No. 12 Exchange Street,

B. A. Manchester,
Jas. O. Brayman,
Guy H. Salisbury.

}

BUFFALO.

 JOB PRINTING PROMPTLY EXECUTED.

MARK TWAIN AND THE "EXPRESS."—Mark Twain's connection with the *Express* has been briefly noted (page 224), but some further record of it may appropriately be made here.

In July, 1869, his "Innocents Abroad" had been published, and he found himself suddenly become a national celebrity. He continued, however, to regard himself as a newspaper writer, and sought a fixed connection with some Eastern journal. He considered Cleveland, where an opportunity offered; but learning that an interest could be bought in the *Buffalo Express*, came here and arranged for the purchase of the one-third interest in the *Express* which Thomas A. Kennett was just then eager to dispose of. Mr. Kennett was a Yale graduate, and a practical newspaper man, with editorial experience on the *New York World* and other papers. In 1866, with J. N. Larned and Col. George H. Selkirk, he had bought the *Express*, of which Col. Selkirk became business manager and Mr. Larned chief political editor. On the sale of his interest to Mark Twain, Mr. Kennett returned to New York and became a member of the firm of Noyes & Kennett, stock brokers. In 1873 he entered trade journalism and for many years was on the staff of the *Carpet and Upholstery Trade Review*. He also was associate editor of the *American Furniture Gazette*, and with F. B. De Barard, afterwards statistician of the New York Merchant's Association, started the *Ironmonger*. He was also for two years editor of the *Decorator and Furnisher*. Mr. Kennett died in New York, a year or so ago.

To return to Mark Twain. His biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine, says that he undertook to pay Kennett \$25,000 for his one-third interest in the *Express*. In view of what the property then

was—and what it was not—this appears a high figure. It evidently seemed so to others, for when Mr. Clemens gave it up, less than a year later, he sold for \$10,000 less than he had undertaken to pay; and it is recorded that long after, he still owed a part of the purchase price.

In a pleasant editorial, Aug. 16, 1869, Mr. Larned announced that Samuel L. Clemens had become part owner of the *Express*, referring to him as "an acquisition upon which any newspaper would congratulate itself;" and the readers of the paper were congratulated because "they are hereafter to be regularly and familiarly in the enjoyment of the humor of the most purely humorous pen that is wielded in American journalism." "Familiarly" was a happy word in this connection; but in predicting that Mark Twain's work was to be enjoyed "regularly" Mr. Larned showed that he did not yet know Mark Twain.

The *Express* staff gave a dinner to the humorist, on the evening of August 14th, — which was a Saturday evening, and there was no Sunday *Express* in those days, to hurry the staff back to work. It is related that when the new editor appeared at the *Express* office the following week—it was upstairs in an old building at No. 14 East Swan street, torn down when the present Ellicott Square was built—the sole occupant of the office was a youth who did not know Mr. Clemens, and who enquired, "Is there some one you wish to see?"

"Well, yes," was the slow reply. "I should like to see some young man offer the new editor a chair."

Mark Twain's "Salutatory" appeared in the *Express* of August 21st, two-thirds of a column of the most unconventional remarks that a new editor ever offered to his readers.

Being a stranger [he began], it would be immodest and unbecoming in me to suddenly and violently assume the associate editorship of the *Buffalo Express* without a single explanatory word of comfort or encouragement to the unoffending patrons of the paper, who are about to be exposed to constant attacks of my wisdom and learning. But this explanatory word shall be as brief as possible. I only wish to assure parties having a friendly interest in the prosperity of the journal, that I am not going to hurt the paper deliberately and intentionally at any time. I am not going to introduce any startling reforms, or in any way attempt to make trouble. I am simply going to do my plain, unpretending duty, when I cannot get out of it; I shall work diligently and honestly and faithfully at all times and upon all occasions, when privation and want shall compel me to do it; in writing, I shall always confine myself strictly to the truth, except when it is attended with inconvenience; I shall witheringly rebuke all forms of crime and misconduct, except when committed by the

tions; but as students of the subject know, these two eminent authorities differed widely in their conclusions as to LaSalle's exploits and character. The following letter from Parkman to Shea, written in the earlier years of their intercourse, is especially interesting as illustrating Mr. Parkman's thorough method of study and field research:

Boston, Sept. 1, 1867.

MY DEAR SHEA:—After seeing you I was five weeks in the West and came back by way of Albany. I went down the Illinois and satisfied myself on several points, among the rest the site of the great Illinois village. I had figured it out within a mile or two by means of the documents, and going to the place thought I could discover the exact spot from the top of a hill which gave a wide view of the valley. In front, across the river, I saw the famous Starved Rock, and about three miles below, the mouth of the Big Vermillion River. About midway between them on the hither side I saw a meadow which I was certain must be the site of a village because the general lay of the land corresponded remarkably with a description of it in one of the MSS.

I asked the oldest settler if any Indian remains were found in the neighborhood. He replied: "Plenty of them." I then asked him if there was any spot where they were particularly abundant. He answered at once, "Yes," and pointed to the meadow which I had supposed to be the site of the village. He said it belonged to him, and that every Spring great quantities of bones and teeth were plowed up on a certain part of it, besides which, beads, arrow-heads, fragments of pottery, etc., were often found upon it.

The Big Vermillion is clearly the Aramoui of LaSalle, and Starved Rock is unquestionably Fort St. Louis. Everything goes to prove this. There is no other rock on the river which at all meets the conditions. Buffalo Rock, six miles higher up, which has been supposed to be the place, is entirely out of the question. I examined both.

I followed Hennepin's course as far as St. Antony. The painting on Marquette's Rock is obliterated by time. In its place I found the inscription, "Plantation Bitters, S. T. 1860. X."

I sent an order to France for the Relation of the Voyage of the Ursulines to New Orleans. I learned in reply that it was printed exclusively for the *Société des Bibliophiles Normands* at Rouen. Can you suggest any wires by pulling which I can get a copy. Margry, as I think told you, reports that there are some new and valuable letters appended to it bearing upon La Salle.

Very Truly yrs.,

J. G. SHEA, Esq.

F. PARKMAN.

O. H. MARSHALL AS JOURNALIST.—This volume contains so much of Buffalo newspaper history and reminiscence, that mention may be made here of O. H. Marshall's connection with the press. Mr. Marshall was by profession a lawyer, and not a journalist, yet for a

time he wrote much for the newspapers. In 1851, when Dr. Thomas M. Foote withdrew from the editorship of the *Commercial*, the position was offered to Mr. Marshall, who, however, declined the active work of the editorial chair, but consented to become a regular contributor. The leading editorial in the *Commercial* of Monday evening, June 9, 1851, was as follows:

Dr. Foote left town last Thursday for Albany, to take the editorial charge of the *State Register* in that city. His departure will cause no change in the proprietorship of this paper, nor in its general course. It will continue, as heretofore, to advocate National Whig principles, and oppose ultraism and fanaticism, whether North or South, while the arrangements we have made for editorial assistance will, we trust, render the paper worthy the generous support and confidence it has so long enjoyed, and which we would gratefully acknowledge. In addition to the editorial force already employed, we are happy to announce that O. H. Marshall, Esq., of this city, a gentleman distinguished for elegant scholarship and sound political sentiments, has consented to become a regular contributor. With this accession, and with the best efforts of all concerned, we confidently hope that the *Commercial Advertiser* will be as acceptable to our patrons hereafter as it has been before.

It would be difficult, and probably impossible, to discover in the files of *The Commercial* more than three score years ago, just what Mr. Marshall's contributions were. Like those of R. W. Haskins of a later period in the *Express*, he took up a great variety of subjects; but, as is evidenced by more than one of these contributions that are identified, his predilection was for history; which is what might be expected of the man in whose law office *The Buffalo Historical Society* had its origin.

BIRTH OF THE "COMMERCIAL."—Of all existing periodicals in Buffalo today, the *Commercial Advertiser* is dean, by reason of longest, uninterrupted publication under one name. From January 1, 1835, to date is a goodly record. It may be worth while to reprint the introduction to the little Buffalo of that date which the *Buffalo Daily Star* gave it:

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.—A new paper greeted our citizens on New Year's day, bearing the above title. It is to be issued, as its title indicates, daily, by H. A. Salisbury, publisher of the *Patriot and Commercial Advertiser*. The editorial department is under the superintendence of Mr. Guy H. Salisbury, a young gentleman of a considerable reputation as a writer, and who will no doubt give the paper an elevated standing among the periodicals of the day. In politics its principles are Anti-Masonic, and those of its readers who are fond of the sight of specters and hob-goblins, will

no doubt be often entertained with a (typographical) view of the "Ghost of Morgan."

JOURNALISTIC FAMILIES.—Journalism in Buffalo began with the Salisburys, three of whom were prominent in the early days. In later years, several other families have been represented by different members in this field of work. There were three or four Faxons who were editors, publishers or printers. Albro, father and son; Brayman, two brothers; Ferris, Held, Rann, Reinicke—these are some of the names of Buffalo families that have given more than one member to journalism in this city. When a newspaper plant becomes a valuable property, it is not surprising to find it pass from father to son or sons. Witness the *News* and *Commercial Advertiser* of today, and the *Express*, now in the hands of a company, the president of which is a grandson of the man who re-established it.

THE FAXONS.—The Faxon family was long prominent in journalism, printing and allied trades in Buffalo. In the '30's Charles Faxon was a "book and fancy job printer," and his son Charles worked with him. Henry Faxon was a bookbinder, and Henry W. Faxon, remembered as poet and humorist, worked in his youth at many things. In 1844 he was clerk in E. S. Thayer's candle factory on Indiana street.

James Faxon was for many years a sterling citizen of Buffalo. Born in Hartford, Conn., in 1808, he came to Buffalo in 1830, and as our record shows controlled or shared in the management of various journals. He published Buffalo's first daily. In 1864 he was appointed United States Consul at Curaçoa, Danish West Indies, and died on shipboard, during the homeward voyage, March 17, 1870. We give an excellent portrait of him.

WHO WROTE "BEAUTIFUL SNOW"?—Of all the Buffalo Faxons, Henry Whitman Faxon gained most notoriety—one can hardly call it fame, notwithstanding the sketches of him in the encyclopædias. Some note has already been made of his newspaper activities in Buffalo, but further mention may appropriately be made here. The disagreement of published statements about him is striking.

One record, which should be trustworthy—the *Cyclopædia of American Biography*—states that he was born in Catskill, N. Y., February 7, 1826, and died at Washington, September 5, 1864. (The correct date of death is September 11.) It says that he served two or three years in the Navy; was a telegraph clerk in Troy, and a

clerk in a candle factory—which last statement is true. It says further that he edited the *Buffalo Republic*, 1855, was afterwards on the staff of the *Buffalo Times*, and in 1861, became Army correspondent for several New York papers.

The facts regarding his connection with Buffalo journals are, it is believed, correctly set forth in the bibliography of the periodical press, in preceding pages. His reputation has rested on two achievements: the Silver Lake Snake Story, and the alleged authorship of "Beautiful Snow." As to the first, he is entitled to all the fame that could flow from it. He did write some ridiculously plausible yarns about a great sea-serpent in little Silver Lake, Wyoming Co., New York. He may have hoaxed a few; of a certainty he amused many, and is to be regarded as the man who introduced the sea serpent into journalism—no slight achievement, when one recalls how useful many other writers have since found it. This is a distinction for Buffalo journalism not to be overlooked by historians.

But Henry Faxon's greater fame rests on something which is in dispute—if we assume that interest in the matter remains sufficiently keen to occasion anything resembling dispute—Was he the author of the poem, "Beautiful Snow"? The question has been asked, at intervals, for many years, and still occasionally appears in newspaper "Answers to Correspondents." Not very long ago the inquiry reached the *Boston Transcript*, and elicited the following rather positive statement:

Henry W. Faxon is the author of "Beautiful Snow." He was born in Buffalo, New York. His father moved to Clarksville, Tenn., about 1845, and with his sons, Charles, Henry, Leonard and James, published the *Jeffersonian* for many years. Henry went to Paducah, Ky., about 1849, and edited a paper there. His two principal poems were republished in the *Nashville Union* about 1852 or 1853. "Types," though of a different measure, has the running rhythm so peculiar to the "Beautiful Snow." Will send a copy if desired. The Faxon family had undoubted evidence as to the authorship. In 1848 or 1849, Henry Faxon, with King, Hiter and others, were discussing poets and poetry, and he offered to bet a basket of champagne that he could write a poem that would be published in all the prominent papers, North and South, East and West, in thirty days. The wager was taken at once, the poem written and sent to some Buffalo paper, the *Advertiser* possibly, but credited to William Cullen Bryant, as published, and, though an ordinary poem, it was republished in other journals until it was disowned by the poet Bryant. The wager was declared won and was paid accordingly. The writer was well acquainted with the family in Clarksville, Tenn.

This letter was reprinted in the *Buffalo Commercial*, with the remark that it "states the facts of the case correctly, we believe." In

contravention of this conclusion, is the publishers' statement, printed in the first edition of J. W. Watson's "Beautiful Snow and Other Poems," a little volume published at Philadelphia in 1869. This statement says, in substance, that eight or nine different claimants have disputed, through the press, for the authorship of "Beautiful Snow," but that Mr. Watson wrote it at his home in Hartford, Conn., in November, 1858, and that it was soon after published in *Harper's Weekly*.

Now, as if it were not sufficiently muddled, most of the anthologies, collections of American verse, etc., when they do not attribute it to Faxon, ascribe the authorship to "James W. Watson." But the Watson who (apparently) wrote it was John Whitaker Watson, born in New York City, October 14, 1824, and died there July 18, 1890. His career, like Faxon's, was sufficiently varied. He attended the University of the City of New York, studied medicine, became a journalist, then took up engraving. One sketch says of him that "he wrote 48 serials for a weekly paper, some of which have been dramatized, notably the story of 'Thirty Millions,' under the title 'The World.'"

The weight of evidence appears in favor of Watson. The other poems in the volume above mentioned are evidently from the same hand that wrote "Beautiful Snow." There is another poem with this title, by one Major Sigourney, published as early as 1852, which resembles the later one enough to suggest that it may have inspired it.

And after all, can any student of our literature, or lover of true poetry, place his hand on his heart and affirm that the authorship of "Beautiful Snow" is not a thing to be repudiated rather than contended for?

SOME OLD-TIME EDITORS.—The story of the early press in Buffalo would be far from complete if no record were made in it of the work of Roswell Willson Haskins. It would be told here, but for the fact that it has already been printed in Volume IV. of these Publications, where L. G. Sellstedt's paper on "Roswell Willson Haskins," read before the Buffalo Historical Society, December 19, 1870—45 years ago!—is preserved, one of the most delightful character studies to be found in all the records of our city.

It may suffice here to remind the reader that Mr. Haskins was born in Salem, Mass., January 31, 1796; that he came to Buffalo in May, 1822, and opened a book store on Main street; and that very soon he was contributing articles to the *Buffalo Journal*, published, and later owned, by David M. Day. As early as this year of 1822

Mr. Haskins did most of the editorial work, and later became part owner in the firm of Day, Follett & Haskins. In November, 1827, their printing office and bindery burned, and the publication of the *Journal* was suspended for some weeks. The subsequent fortunes of the *Journal* have already been stated. Mr. Haskins retired from the business in 1832, and thereafter gave much of his time to scientific pursuits until 1845, when, with his son George, James O. Brayman and John C. Bonner, he edited the short-lived *National Pilot*, owned by Bradford A. Manchester. Some years later Mr. Haskins was for a time an editorial writer on the *Express*. He was one of the founders of the Young Men's Association in Buffalo, was the first Superintendent of Schools in this city, and was the author of several books, among them, "History and Progress of Phrenology," "Astronomy for Schools," and numerous pamphlets.

THE BROTHERS BRAYMAN.—One of our portraits shows the fine patriarchal head of Mason Brayman, who may be styled the first native-born editor in Buffalo. The Salisburys and other earlier printers were born elsewhere, but Mason Brayman was born, somewhere in the Cold Spring district south of Ferry street, May 23, 1813. His father, Daniel Brayman, had come to Buffalo in 1810, and at first lived on Niagara street near present Albany street—pretty well out in the woods, it was, between Buffalo and Black Rock. When the war operations of 1812 caused a battery to be thrown up near his home, he moved back to the vicinity of Main and Ferry streets. In December, 1813, the parents with several children, including the six-months old Mason, fled, at the burning of Buffalo. After the war they settled at Hamburg; and in 1830, being then 17 years old, Mason was apprenticed to Day, Follett & Haskins, and became a printer. James Faxon bought the weekly *Buffalo Bulletin* in 1831, and soon after Mason Brayman appears as its editor. He has been referred to as the editor of Buffalo's first daily; but the facts appear to be that his younger brother, James O. Brayman, did editorial work on the first little daily in Buffalo, the *Western Star*, which James Faxon started in July, 1834. The *Star* and *Bulletin* came under one management in 1835, from which time Mason Brayman's connection with the daily *Star* apparently dates.

James O. Brayman was born in Buffalo in 1815, and resided here until 1854, having editorial connection with the *National Pilot*, the *Courier* and the *Commercial Advertiser*. In the year named he removed to Chicago, where he edited the *Chicago Democrat* under the Hon. John Wentworth; and from 1861 until his death, October 30,

1887, was editor of the *Standard*. While still a resident of Buffalo, he wrote a book, entitled: "Daring Deeds of American Heroes, with biographical sketches." It was an illustrated octavo and was published in Buffalo in 1852.

The elder brother, Mason, had a more varied and picturesque career, which can only be very briefly sketched here. He is one of the few Buffalo editors who have gotten into the encyclopædias.

While still writing for Buffalo newspapers, he studied law. Removing to Monroe, Mich., he was elected city attorney. Another move was made to Wooster, Ohio, where he edited the *Daily Advertiser*. In 1844 we find him settled at Springfield, Ill., and held in such esteem as a lawyer that the task of codifying the laws of the state was confided to him. He negotiated the terms which secured the peaceful removal of the Mormons from Nauvoo, and he got the charter of the Illinois Central Railroad through the Legislature.

When the Civil War broke out, Mason Brayman enlisted as a private in the 29th Illinois Volunteers. He soon became major, then was made adjutant-general on McClernand's staff. His war record is a full one, but most of it we pass over now. After the battle of Pittsburg Landing he was made Colonel of the 29th. He had known Lincoln in the Springfield law practice; now, in September, 1862, the President appointed him brigadier-general. Soon after this appointment General Brayman visited Buffalo; and there may be some gray heads yet who remember a rather notable address he made at Fort Porter. Later he was made major-general by brevet; and at the close of the war resumed his law practice at Springfield. He had never outgrown his liking for newspaper work; he became part owner of the *Whig*, at Quincy, Ill.; and was one of the founders of the *Illinois Journal*, at Springfield. In 1873 he removed to Wisconsin, and was editing the *Eipon Commonwealth* when President Grant appointed him Governor of Idaho Territory. At the end of a stormy four-year term he returned to Wisconsin. His last years were passed with a daughter at Kansas City, where he died February 27, 1895. He was for a period, president of the American Baptist Publication Society; was a trustee of Chicago University, and a founder of the Chicago Historical Society. He last visited Buffalo in 1889, the guest of his nephew, Mr. George D. Emerson.

A MAGAZINE IN MANUSCRIPT.—Mason Brayman was the first amateur journalist in Buffalo. There are preserved a few copies of *The Moralist*, "by Adrian Buffalo," dated, No. 2, Dec. 5, 1831; No. 4, Oct. 6, 1832; No. 13, March 23, 1833. Also, *The Moralist*

and *Sentinel*, July, 1832, "by Adrian Buffalo and Paul Shack." "Adrian Buffalo" is known to have been Mason Brayman who was 18 years old at the time; "Paul Shack" may have been his brother James. These curious "magazines" are entirely in manuscript, each number containing eight pages except No. 13, which has but four pages.

A PRINTERS' SOCIETY IN 1836.—In June, 1836, the Buffalo Typographical Society was formed "for benevolent objects and for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an uniform scale of prices." Meetings were held, on the first Saturday evening in each month. There were then no Sunday papers to spoil the freedom of the printers' Saturday night, and one can imagine that these journeymen, in their hours of ease, did not devote all of their energies to business. Their organization was probably the first to undertake to regulate printers' wages in Buffalo. William Verrinder, publisher of the *Literary Inquirer*, was president for a time, and a leading spirit in its councils. Quartus Graves and Abraham Dinamore, afterwards prominent as publishers in the growing town, were also active in its work.

A FAMOUS PRINTER.—Note has been made (p. 214) of the early printing business in Buffalo of C. F. S. Thomas. In 1839 he was conducting the job-printing business connected with the *Buffalo Journal*. In 1844 the firm of Thomas & Co. was merged with Jewett & Co., and in 1857 Mr. Thomas became superintendent of the *Commercial* establishment. Mr. Thomas subsequently started a job office of his own, and obtained contracts from the Government for printing post-office blanks, furnishing twine, etc. In consequence of some alleged irregularity, a prosecution was begun against Mr. Thomas, which resulted in his giving up business in Buffalo. He removed to Springfield, Mo. In 1876, while on a visit to his son-in-law, Mr. Charles E. Bacon, in Buffalo, he was taken ill, and died, September 19th.

His full name was Calvin Frederick St. John Thomas. A native of New York City, where he was born August 5, 1808, he came to Buffalo in 1833 or '34, and soon was in charge of the printing office of Mr. Oliver G. Steele. Before coming to Buffalo he had engaged in publishing. He is said to have published a weekly paper in Goshen, Orange Co. One evidence of his early enterprise is a notable one. The first edition of Edgar A. Poe's "Tamerlane," one of the rarest of books, which has brought as high as \$2,500 at public sale,

was issued in Boston in 1827, and the publisher whose imprint is on the title-page was Calvin F. S. Thomas.

THOMAS L. NICHOLS.—Some note has been made, in connection with our record of the *Buffalonian* (p. 206), of the diversified career, in jail and out, of its most famous editor, Thomas L. Nichols. A good deal might be added, and still not do that worthy full justice. On leaving America in 1861 he went to London, where he appears to have resided throughout the rest of a long and active life. He married a water-cure "doctress," and became known himself as "M. D." He wrote, besides his voluminous "Forty Years of American Life," a number of medical or pseudo-medical works: "Human Physiology the Basis of Sanitary and Social Science"; "The Beacon Light: Physiology for the Young"; "Esoteric Anthropology (The Mysteries of Man)," a copy of which the late Dr. Roswell Park had in his library, and is now owned by the Buffalo Public Library. It is more curious than useful. The later activities of this whilom Buffalo editor were at least practical. During a London visit, some years ago, the writer one day ran across a "free soup kitchen," and learned that it was one of several carried on by this Dr. Thomas L. Nichols. He also published works entitled "Social Life," "How to Cook," "The Diet-Cure: Eating to Live," and "How to Live on Sixpence a Day." Evidently his later years did somewhat make amends for the follies of his youth as a Buffalo editor.

REV. JOHN E. ROBIE.—The most representative figure in the earlier journalism of the Methodist Episcopal church in Western New York is the Rev. John E. Robie. He was a practical printer who as early as 1841 had started a weekly paper in Auburn styled the *Northern Advocate*. This paper was sold in 1844 to the General Conference. Mr. Robie removed to Rochester and established the *Genesee Evangelist*, which he conducted until 1849, when he sold it to the Presbyterians and came to Buffalo, where, on Jan. 1, 1850, he first issued the *Buffalo Christian Advocate*. It flourished until 1861, when its founder became chaplain of the 21st Regiment, N. Y. V. After an eventful war record, during which he was for a time held prisoner by the Confederates, he returned to Buffalo and served as presiding elder of the Buffalo District, 1866-1870. On his way home from a session of the General Conference, in Brooklyn, he was taken ill and died at Cowlesville, N. Y., May 26, 1872.

"FATHER OF THE 'COURIER.'"—Joseph Stringham has been styled "The Father of the *Buffalo Courier*," though James Faxon, originator of the *Western Star*, is perhaps more strictly entitled to that distinction. Mr. Stringham was born in the West Indies about 1810, but received his boyhood schooling in the United States, and came to Buffalo in the early 40's. In 1842, as above stated, he became proprietor of the *Republican*, and also of the *Democratic Economist*, which was being published by Henry Burwell and edited by Henry White. Mr. Stringham renamed them, being the first to use the name *Courier* as part of a cumbersome title, which probably in popular usage was always simplified to one word. Mr. Stringham was active and prominent in his day and generation. He was cashier of the old City Bank, Clerk of the Common Council, president of the Buffalo Insurance Co., and served a term as State Treasurer.

About 1875 he loaned his brother a large sum of money on a tract of land near Oshkosh, Wis. The property later came into his possession, occupied by squatter tenants who proved troublesome. The Hon. James O. Putnam, who was a close friend of Mr. Stringham, used to tell how one morning he found him poring over a map in his office at the bank. Mr. Stringham looked up wearily and exclaimed: "I am disgusted with my wealth!" Mr. Stringham later removed to Oshkosh and became mayor of that city; and there he died, a wealthy bachelor, Feb. 13, 1900.

DANIEL PECK ADAMS.—Another old-time printer, editor and publisher, whose memory should be preserved in the local annals of the craft, was Daniel Peck Adams. Born in Scipio, Cayuga Co., N. Y., in 1801, he came to Buffalo in 1817. For a time he carried the mails on horseback between Buffalo, Black Rock and Niagara Falls. He moved to New York City, then came back to Western New York. The *People's Press*, at Batavia, had been started in 1825 by Benjamin Blodgett. The next year Mr. Adams, with two associates, Martin and Thorp, acquired it. The firm later became Adams & McCleary. The paper was merged with the *Spirit of the Times*, and Mr. Adams, after a brief residence at Medina, returned to the Niagara, and at Black Rock, Feb. 11, 1836, issued the first number of the *Black Rock Advocate*. In his initial address to his readers, he lamented "the baneful effects on the peace and prosperity of other villages produced by the introduction of violent party politics into country newspapers," and pledged himself that so far as the *Advocate* was concerned, "the publisher will carefully abstain from anything calculated to impart to this establishment the character of a partisan press." From the

start, however, Mr. Adams was ardent in upholding the interests of Black Rock, as opposed to those of the rival village of Buffalo, and he made the *Advocate* an uncommonly newsy and interesting journal. Mr. Adams later removed to Buffalo, where he carried on a printing business for some years, and was connected with several newspapers. He died at Batavia in 1872.

One of the rarest pamphlets in all the vast literature of the War of 1812 was printed by D. P. Adams. This is "Chapin's Review of Armstrong's 'Notices of the War of 1812,'" and bears the imprint: "Black Rock: D. P. Adams, printer, *Advocate* office, 1836." It is a 50-page pamphlet, signed by Cyrenius Chapin, a famous pioneer of Buffalo. A copy in the Historical Society library, which formerly belonged to Alexander J. Sheldon (editor of the *Scientific Commercial* of Buffalo and librarian of the Grosvenor Library), bears this note: "This book was written by James Sheldon, attorney-at-law, in 1836, for Dr. Chapin."

BUFFALO'S FIRST SUNDAY NEWSPAPER.—Buffalo's first Sunday newspaper, the *Bulletin*, appeared in 1849, and under the guidance of two men highly respected in the community—William F. Rogers and Stephen Albro. Whatever of popular prejudice there may have been at that time against Sunday newspapers—and there was much—could have found no basis in the *Bulletin*, which was, for that period, a model of propriety. A later-day aversion to Sunday newspapers was largely due to the objectionable character of the papers themselves. For a period, perhaps not wholly past, the publishers of Sunday newspapers—unconnected with a daily—seemed to feel that their especial mission was sensationalism and the exploitation of scandal. Buffalo, in its time, has known that type of Sunday paper; but several decades before that objectionable phase of journalism developed, the Buffalo *Bulletin* ran its short but highly respectable career.

William F. Rogers merits remembrance among the newspaper men of Buffalo, although best known by reason of other and more distinguished services in after years. Born near Easton, Pa., in 1820, he was a practical printer when he came to Buffalo in 1846. He worked as a compositor on the *Express*, just started. The next year he was one of the founders of the *Republic* and in 1849 established the *Bulletin*. In politics Mr. Rogers belonged to the "Barn-burners" faction of the Democrats, which the *Republic*—later the *Times-Republic*—ardently supported. He was soon active in military affairs; was a member of the famous Company D., Buffalo City Guards; then a major general in the State militia; and at the outbreak of the Civil

War was captain of Co. C, 74th Regiment. He became colonel of the famous 21st, and after two years of hard fighting in the Maryland and Virginia campaigns was breveted brigadier general. He was subsequently provost marshal of the 30th New York district, and for many years major general of the Eighth Division, New York National Guard.

His service continued notable in municipal and national affairs. He was successively city auditor, comptroller and mayor of Buffalo; was the first president of Buffalo's Park Commission; and in 1883 was elected to Congress. Among various offices which he held in later life were those of Past Commander, G. A. R., Department of New York State; Past President, New York Military Association; and Superintendent of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Bath. In all the long list of Buffalo's newspaper men few, if any, have played a more active part, or won a more certain place in public esteem, than William F. Rogers, publisher of Buffalo's first Sunday newspaper.

THE SERVICE OF JOSEPH WARREN.—The early press of Buffalo was unbelievably dull. The writers seemed to have no conception of the possibilities of their profession. The value of details, in a report of local occurrences, seems not to have been recognized until comparatively recent years. Today, any reporter worthy to hold a desk on a daily newspaper, must be able to picture a scene in a few sentences; to give the news kernel of his story at the outset—for the edification of the hurried reader—and then to amplify as space permits. There are many newspaper writers today who make of their routine assignments as fine literary bits as—shall we say, some of Maupassant's best short stories. They study life, and know how to picture it.

No one did more to bring in the era of readable news reporting, for the press of Buffalo, than Joseph Warren. For 18 years the editor of the *Courier*, he began as the best local writer it had known, up to his time. When he died, in 1876, the *Courier* paid this tribute:

Local reporting was in its infancy in the Buffalo press in those days [the '50's] and Mr. Warren was among the first to infuse in it something of modern enterprise. A full report which he made, single-handed, of a banquet of Neptune Hose Company, was one of his early triumphs. Such a thing as reporting in full in the morning paper speeches made the night before, had not been attempted previously, and it marked an epoch in local journalism.

AN OLD BUSINESS CARD.—Here is a facsimile of the business card of the *Buffalo Courier* some 60 years ago:

MANCHESTER & CO.,

PUBLISHERS OF THE

BUFFALO COURIER,

DAILY, WEEKLY & TRI-WEEKLY.

No. 12 Exchange Street,

B. A. Manchester,
Jas. O. Brayman,
Guy H. Salisbury.

}

BUFFALO.



JOB PRINTING PROMPTLY EXECUTED.

MARK TWAIN AND THE "EXPRESS."—Mark Twain's connection with the *Express* has been briefly noted (page 224), but some further record of it may appropriately be made here.

In July, 1869, his "Innocents Abroad" had been published, and he found himself suddenly become a national celebrity. He continued, however, to regard himself as a newspaper writer, and sought a fixed connection with some Eastern journal. He considered Cleveland, where an opportunity offered; but learning that an interest could be bought in the *Buffalo Express*, came here and arranged for the purchase of the one-third interest in the *Express* which Thomas A. Kennett was just then eager to dispose of. Mr. Kennett was a Yale graduate, and a practical newspaper man, with editorial experience on the *New York World* and other papers. In 1866, with J. N. Larned and Col. George H. Selkirk, he had bought the *Express*, of which Col. Selkirk became business manager and Mr. Larned chief political editor. On the sale of his interest to Mark Twain, Mr. Kennett returned to New York and became a member of the firm of Noyes & Kennett, stock brokers. In 1873 he entered trade journalism and for many years was on the staff of the *Carpet and Upholstery Trade Review*. He also was associate editor of the *American Furniture Gazette*, and with F. B. De Barard, afterwards statistician of the New York Merchant's Association, started the *Ironmonger*. He was also for two years editor of the *Decorator and Furnisher*. Mr. Kennett died in New York, a year or so ago.

To return to Mark Twain. His biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine, says that he undertook to pay Kennett \$25,000 for his one-third interest in the *Express*. In view of what the property then

was—and what it was not—this appears a high figure. It evidently seemed so to others, for when Mr. Clemens gave it up, less than a year later, he sold for \$10,000 less than he had undertaken to pay; and it is recorded that long after, he still owed a part of the purchase price.

In a pleasant editorial, Aug. 16, 1869, Mr. Larned announced that Samuel L. Clemens had become part owner of the *Express*, referring to him as "an acquisition upon which any newspaper would congratulate itself;" and the readers of the paper were congratulated because "they are hereafter to be regularly and familiarly in the enjoyment of the humor of the most purely humorous pen that is wielded in American journalism." "Familiarly" was a happy word in this connection; but in predicting that Mark Twain's work was to be enjoyed "regularly" Mr. Larned showed that he did not yet know Mark Twain.

The *Express* staff gave a dinner to the humorist, on the evening of August 14th, — which was a Saturday evening, and there was no Sunday *Express* in those days, to hurry the staff back to work. It is related that when the new editor appeared at the *Express* office the following week—it was upstairs in an old building at No. 14 East Swan street, torn down when the present Elliott Square was built—the sole occupant of the office was a youth who did not know Mr. Clemens, and who enquired, "Is there some one you wish to see?"

"Well, yes," was the slow reply. "I should like to see some young man offer the new editor a chair."

Mark Twain's "Salutatory" appeared in the *Express* of August 21st, two-thirds of a column of the most unconventional remarks that a new editor ever offered to his readers.

Being a stranger [he began], it would be immodest and unbecoming in me to suddenly and violently assume the associate editorship of the *Buffalo Express* without a single explanatory word of comfort or encouragement to the unoffending patrons of the paper, who are about to be exposed to constant attacks of my wisdom and learning. But this explanatory word shall be as brief as possible. I only wish to assure parties having a friendly interest in the prosperity of the journal, that I am not going to hurt the paper deliberately and intentionally at any time. I am not going to introduce any startling reforms, or in any way attempt to make trouble. I am simply going to do my plain, unpretending duty, when I cannot get out of it; I shall work diligently and honestly and faithfully at all times and upon all occasions, when privation and want shall compel me to do it; in writing, I shall always confine myself strictly to the truth, except when it is attended with inconvenience; I shall witheringly rebuke all forms of crime and misconduct, except when committed by the

party inhabiting my own vest; I shall not make use of slang or vulgarity upon any occasion or under any circumstances, and shall never use profanity except in discussing house-rent and taxes. Indeed, upon second thought, I will not even use it then, for it is unchristian, inelegant and degrading—though to speak truly I do not see how house-rent and taxes are going to be discussed worth a cent without it. I shall not often meddle with politics, because we have a political editor who is already excellent, and only needs to serve a term in the penitentiary to be perfect. I shall not write any poetry, unless I conceive a spite against the subscribers.

And much more in like vein; amazingly different from anything the readers of the *Express* had ever before found on its editorial page; highly nonsensical, no doubt, and yet the effect of it was to hold up to a not undeserved ridicule a custom more honored in the breach than in observance. Mark Twain did not take himself too seriously:

In private life a man does not go and trumpet his crime before he commits it, but your new editor is such an important personage that he feels called upon to write a "salutatory" at once. . . . He parades his list of wonders that he is going to perform; of reforms which he is going to introduce, and public evils which he is going to exterminate; and public blessings which he is going to create; and public nuisances which he is going to abate. He spreads this all out with oppressive solemnity over a column and a half of large print, and feels that the country is saved. His satisfaction over it is something enormous. He then settles down to his miracles and inflicts profound platitudes and impenetrable wisdom upon a helpless public as long as they can stand it, and then they send him off Consul to some savage island in the Pacific in the vague hope that the cannibals will like him well enough to eat him.

He goes on to emphasize his idea that if there is anything more uncalled for than a Salutatory, it is a Valedictory; and while in his secret heart, he says, he admired his predecessor for not writing one, yet in recognition of an old custom he argued that there should have been one. He said as much to Mr. Kennett (if we accept Mark's version) and he replied:

"I have resigned my place—I have departed this life—I am journalistically dead, at present, ain't I?"

"Yes."

"Well, wouldn't you consider it disgraceful in a corpse to sit up and comment on the funeral?"

In this fashion did Mark Twain make his first appearance in Buffalo journalism. That he was industrious, there is no question. His biographer draws a word-picture of him, working early and late in that old Swan street office, and discarding, as mood or

temperature prompted, not only coat and waistcoat, collar and tie, but even his shoes. From such absorption in work, one looks for an abundant output; but when the files of the *Express* are searched the result is somewhat disappointing. His contributions were printed in the Saturday issue, the first one being headed "A Day at Niagara," followed by "Last Words of Great Men," to which a correspondent replied, in a vein worthy of Mark himself, that no married men could be great because married men never had the last word. In following issues appeared "The Legend of the Capitoline Venus," "The Cuban Patriot"—written more in earnest than in jest—and a series of "Around the World Letters," purporting to be written by Professor D. B. Ford of the Elmira Female College and Mark Twain; but, needless to say, all of the latter's concoction. The fearful and wonderful wood cuts that accompanied some of his articles attracted as much attention as the stories themselves. Mr. Larned used to tell how Mark Twain enjoyed engraving, with a jack-knife, his famous map of the Siege of Paris. Then there was "A Curious Dream," and "Journalism in Tennessee," and others, mostly not to be found in his collected works. A few, deemed the best, were reprinted in the *Express* about the time of Mr. Clemens' death. But he was erratic and uncertain; there were many issues in which readers looked in vain for Mark Twain; and presently, in the winter of 1869-'70, he was off on a lecture tour. Beginning with May, 1870, his best work went into the *Galaxy*, at that period a monthly of enterprise and excellence. In April, 1870, Mark Twain sold out his interest in the *Express*, at a loss; and this ended his connection with the press of Buffalo. The *Express* had profited little by it, for although it had won a certain reputation its subscription list, according to the biographer of the humorist, had not appreciably grown.

A FAMOUS EDITORIAL.—In all the century and more of Buffalo journalism there has been no editorial more celebrated than one Mark Twain wrote on the night of Sept. 30, 1869. The Republican Convention at Saratoga had just nominated a ticket which the *Express* was to support. It was not a gubernatorial year; for the office of Secretary of State, which headed the ticket, George William Curtis had been chosen. Mr. Larned, political editor of the *Express*, was at Saratoga, and when news of the nominations came, there was no one to write the usual editorial comment—except Mark Twain. Today, in a like situation, the political editor would perhaps send in his editorial by wire; they didn't use the wire so freely, then.

But in his own way, Mark Twain was entirely equal to the situation, and this is the editorial *Express* readers found at the head of the first editorial column, next morning:

THE TICKET—EXPLANATION.

Under the proper head will be found the telegram from the State Convention announcing the nominations. As the political editor of this paper, Mr. Larned, is absent, attending that convention; and as I do not know much about politics, and am not sitting up nights to learn; and as I am new to the Atlantic seaboard and its political leaders, and consequently am not able to make oath that I am perfectly posted concerning the history, services, morals, politics and virtues of any of these nominees except George William Curtis, I shall discreetly hold my peace.

I am satisfied that these nominations are all right and sound, and that they are the only ones that can bring peace to our distracted country (the only political phrase I am perfectly familiar with and competent to hurl at the public—the other editor is full of them), but being merely satisfied isn't enough. I always like to *know*, before I shout. But I go for Mr. Curtis with all my strength! Being certain of him, I hereby shout all I know how. But the others may be a split ticket, or a scratched ticket, or whatever you call it.

I will let it alone for the present. The other young man will be back tomorrow, and *he* will shout for it, split or no split—rest assured of that. He will prance into this political ring with his tomahawk and his war-whoop, and then you will hear a crash and see the scalps fly. He has none of my diffidence. He knows all about these nominees—and if he don't he will let on to, in such a natural way as to deceive the most critical. He knows everything—he knows more than Webster's Unabridged and the American Encyclopedia—but whether he knows anything about a subject or not he is perfectly willing to discuss it. When he gets back, he will tell you all about these candidates, as serenely as if you had been acquainted with them a hundred years—though speaking confidentially, I doubt if he ever heard of any of them till today. I am right well satisfied it is a good, sound, sensible ticket, and a ticket to win—but wait till *he* comes.

In the meantime, I go for George William Curtis, and take the chances.

MARK TWAIN.

The effect of this was heightened by the extreme dignity with which Mr. Larned, the next day, ignoring the screed of his frivolous associate, espoused the cause of George William Curtis. And the joke of it—one of the jokes of it—was that Mr. Curtis declined the nomination!

Here may be recorded Mark Twain's tribute to David Gray:

"The gentlest spirit and the loveliest that ever went clothed in clay, since Sir Galahad laid him to rest."

F. F. FARGO.—Many Buffalo editors have gone West. One at least, came to Buffalo from the West, after an unusual experience. A well-known figure in Buffalo newspaper life from the early '70's on for a good many years, was Francis F. Fargo. His earlier activity in the profession was in California, where he was a pioneer soon after the gold discovery of 1848. In the early '50's he was active in the strenuous politics of that State, was on the staff of *Alta-California* in 1855, and an editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin* in 1858. In that year he established and published in San Francisco a Fremont & Dayton campaign paper called the *Pathfinder*. Subsequently he founded the *Alameda Co. Herald*. In 1860 he was elected to the Legislature from Alameda Co., and was his party's candidate for Speaker. In 1861 he was elected Clerk of the Supreme Court on the State ticket headed by Leland Stanford for Governor. At the end of his term he came to Buffalo to reside.

In 1870, on the opening of the Union Pacific Railroad, he revisited California, and wrote a series of articles for the *Buffalo Express*. On his return he became associated with J. N. Larned in editorial work on that paper, and when Mr. Larned was elected Superintendent of Education, 1872, Mr. Fargo continued for a time as managing editor of the *Express*. In later years he was a contributor, or editorial writer for the *Buffalo Times*, and other journals.

WANTED TO BE A REPORTER.—Newspaper offices are—or used to be—prolific in stories of newspaper men. A diligent compiler could gather many, but whether they could be rated as history or not is an open question. Some of these have been recorded, in pages preceding. One that may be added relates to Jacob A. Riis, the Danish—now American—author and social worker, who more than forty years ago came to Buffalo in quest of employment. Many years after, in March, 1905, being in Buffalo for a lecture engagement, Mr. Riis indulged in reminiscences of his first visit. As the laugh is supposed to be on the *Courier* and *Express* of by-gone days, the incident probably did not suffer through being written by a *Commercial* reporter, who recorded Mr. Riis' recollections as follows:

"It was in the early '70's," said Mr. Riis, chuckling over the memory of the occasion, "that I tried to secure a position on a Buffalo paper as a reporter. At that time I was working on the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburg Railroad as a day laborer. I went up in the *Courier* office at an hour when either the bulk of the staff had not reported, or else were out on the street. I went through one room after another and finally struck the exchange editor. When I saw him I took him for the managing editor sure. There he sat

with a pair of scissors and a big paste pot, the tools of the trade as I had been led to understand, and I went up to him and in very imperfect English made known my desire to secure work. When he finally understood what I was trying to say he waved me away with an almost imperial gesture.

"My boy," he said, "we never work here."

"I know from later experience in other newspaper offices that that man lied.

"Then I went to the office of the *Express* and I waited in the counting room until the managing editor came back from luncheon and had him pointed out to me as he went through the counting room. I caught him just at the foot of the stairs leading to the editorial room and again asked to be engaged as a reporter. He looked me up and down, scanning my poor apparel, and then he threw his head back and laughed. Then he ran upstairs. I was stunned for the moment, but then the grit that was in me came to the surface and I ran after him.

"Half way up the stairs he heard me coming after him and stopped. I stopped too, shook my fist at him and vowed then and there that the time would come when the *Express* would be glad to have my services and that, when that day came, it shouldn't have them. And he just laughed again and ran up stairs.

"That editor's laugh has been ringing in my ears ever since. It did me a lot of good, however, as it made me make up my mind to be a reporter, anyway, and thus started me on my career at something better than a day laborer."

Mr. Riis tells the incident, rather better, in his book, "The Making of an American," explaining that the *Express* editor asked: "What are you?" and when Riis replied, "A carpenter," laughed and shut the door in his face.

THE AMATEUR PRESS OF BUFFALO.—A good many amateur papers and magazines are noted in our list, though perhaps not all. By nature ephemeral, it will be strange if some have not escaped our notice.

The amateur publishing craze of the '70's and '80's developed several Buffalo publications, not periodicals, which should be noted, in any review of the subject. Mr. T. H. Parsons in 1882 published an "Amateur Guide and Directory." The "Year-Book of the National Amateur Press Association" was published in Buffalo in 1887 by Mr. M. F. Boechat; and in 1888 by John J. Ottinger. There is nothing amateurish in the get-up of these well-edited and well-printed little volumes, which record a curious phase of Young-American activity.

A SHORT, CONVINCING SERMON.—These Publications have in past years contained so much canal history, that the following anecdote, told by William C. Allen in the *Westonian* (Pa.), may well be added:

In the days when the Erie Canal was projected many good people of various denominations seriously felt that it was flying in the face of Providence to build a canal from Buffalo to the seaboard. If the Lord had intended that there be navigation across the State would he not have made a waterway there?

In the midst of this weighty controversy it one day happened that a certain minister attended a meeting where a most uncommercial but well meaning brother talked long against the effort to build the Canal. Surely, he was quite different from most Friends, who are naturally quick to develop commerce. After he had proved to his own satisfaction, at least, the evil of the thing, a long, gaunt figure, with tense face and profound determination, if not disgust, depicted in every lineament, arose, the angular body reached forward, a long fore-finger was thrust out, while solemnly rolled forth this very pithy sermon:

"And Jacob *digged* a well!"

A RARE BUFFALO BOOK.—There has recently been added to the library of the Buffalo Historical Society an early Buffalo book which is a great rarity. The title and collation are as follows:

HYDE (JABEZ B[ACKUS]) *Kianasa, nana nonedowaga new-wenuda*. Hymns, in the Seneca language; by Jabez B. Hyde. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury, 1819.

Pp. 1-40, 16mo, alternate Seneca and English text.

This is a second edition, with changes, of a work published in Buffalo in 1818; and is, so far as known to the present writer, the second book printed in Buffalo. The first, printed here by S. H. and H. A. Salisbury, in 1812, is entitled: "Public Speeches, delivered at the Village of Buffalo, on the 6th and 8th days of July, 1812, by Hon. Erastus Granger, Indian Agent, and Red Jacket," etc. The Buffalo Historical Society owns one of the two copies known to be in existence. It is reproduced in facsimile, in Vol. VI. of this Society's Publications. A later edition of Missionary Hyde's "*Kianasa*," with a somewhat different title, of identical significance, "*Kau a nau so Na na none do wau gau New wen nov da*," published in Buffalo by H. A. Salisbury, 1827, is also in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

No book or pamphlet bearing a Buffalo imprint, is known to the present writer, between 1812 and 1818. This period embraces the War of 1812, the destruction of Buffalo village, and its rebuilding. In 1818, besides the "*Kianasa*," there was printed here a sermon, "The Unity of God," by Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher: Third American edition. "Buffalo: Printed by Carpenter & Salisbury, 1818." It is a 16mo pamphlet of 24 pages, but whether it

was issued earlier or later in the year than the first edition of "*Kianasa*," cannot be stated.

Another early Buffalo imprint lately added to the Historical Society library is entitled: "The Farmer's Instructor; or Every Man his own Lawyer," compiled by "a gentleman of the bar," whose name does not appear. It is a leather bound duodecimo of 264 pages, published in Buffalo by Oliver Spafford, but printed by H. A. Salisbury—whose portrait heads our group of pioneer printers—in 1823.

AN EARLY BUFFALO POSTER.—The printing-press first came to Buffalo in October, 1811. No printing of any sort is known to have been done here before that date. Yet the Buffalo Historical Society owns a quaint old poster or hand bill bearing the imprint: "Buffaloe, April 16, 1811." It was probably printed in Canandaigua, with the Buffalo date, and sent to the village on Buffalo Creek, and elsewhere in the then Niagara County, for distribution.

The size of the form (the type impress) is 5 by 5½ inches. The paper on which it is printed—old rough-edged "rag"—is 8 by 8½ inches; and the announcement, with a variety of display type which we do not attempt to reproduce, runs as follows:

AT a meeting of the Republican citizens of the Town of Buffaloe, convened at the house of Samuel Atkins, by the particular request of E. GRANGER, Esq., on the 15th day of April, 1811, for the purpose of agreeing whether we will support SAMUEL TUPPER, Esq., or PHILLO ORTON, Esq., as member of Assembly at the next ensuing election, and for other purposes—MR. BENJAMIN HODGE was chosen chairman, and OTIS R. HOPKINS, secretary.

Voted, unanimously That this meeting do pledge themselves to support

SAMUEL TUPPER, ESQ.

As Member of Assembly at the next ensuing Election.

Resolved, That we will support

DEWITT CLINTON,

As Lieutenant Governor for the State, and

CASPER M. ROUSE,

As Senator for the Western District at the next ensuing election.

Resolved, That the chairman and secretary sign the proceedings of this meeting and cause the same to be printed in handbills and circulated through the county.

BENJAMIN HODGE, *Chairman*,

OTIS R. HOPKINS, *Secretary*.

Buffaloe, April 16, 1811.

OLD BUILDINGS GONE.—The most notable building demolished in Buffalo during 1915 was the Wilkeson homestead on Niagara Square. Built in 1824 by Judge Samuel Wilkeson, it had been occupied by the Wilkeson family continuously from that time till its destruction. It was a fine, dignified old mansion, and had been the scene of many notable gatherings; but was especially cherished as the home of a conspicuously public-spirited and patriotic family, whose service to Buffalo began with the first improvement of her harbor. The house, with its old-fashioned portico, looked out upon Niagara Square from its large grounds, in quiet dignity, in great contrast to the heterogeneous structures that crowd that part of the city. The Square could ill afford to lose anything of architectural worth.

During the year 1915 the old Jefferson homestead at No. 157 Mohawk street, has been demolished. It is said to have been built about 1830, and from 1854 to within a few years was the home of Mr. Thomas M. Jefferson, who had his tin-ware manufactory and store on the ground floor.

The old house at the right (in our picture) with the fan window in the gable, also torn down, had undergone many changes in the 60 years or so of its existence. For many years it was known as John Chamberlain's carriage shop, and earlier yet it was Brainerd's flour and feed store. A recent tenant was D. Lund.

New business buildings replace these old structures, which look out on a parked triangle, adorned with a fine bust of Verdi, presented to the city by residents of Italian blood.

The disappearance of the old Vandeventer house, with its well-kept grounds, at No. 1458 Main street, has lessened the attractiveness of that neighborhood. Another landmark that has gone was the old Black Rock custom house. These, and a few other pictures, mark the constant change taking place in the city. As the year 1915 closes there are many indications that our pictorial record of vanished landmarks will be greatly extended in the coming year.

APPENDIX
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
1915

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 12, 1915.

The fifty-third annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 12, 1915; President Henry W. Hill in the chair. The attendance was small. The secretary read the minutes of the preceding annual meeting, which were approved. President Hill then delivered his annual address, which here follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It must be apparent to all familiar with the activities of this Society, that it is filling a most important place in the educational and social life of this city, while adhering strictly to the purposes of its founders. Its research work and its Publications have done something to perpetuate in memory and in enduring record the history of the activities of the aborigines and of the representatives of the three nations, which have successively occupied the Niagara Frontier, thus contributing much to a popular understanding of the operation of the ethnic forces in the evolution of our institutions. The waning influence of the red men since the advent of explorers, traders, missionaries and settlers into this territory appears in many papers of the Publications of the Society, and in such poems as "The Last of the Kah-Kwahs," by David Gray, read before the Society, March 13th, 1863; "Onondaga Castle" and other poems suggested by the re-burial of the old chiefs at Forest Lawn, where stands the heroic-size bronze statue to Red Jacket, Sa-go-ye-wath-a, said by the late Judge George W. Clinton to be "the greatest Indian orator this continent has given birth to."

The parting wail of this Demosthenes of the vanishing Iroquois, preserved in the inscription at the base of the monument, erected by this Society in Forest Lawn Cemetery, is both pathetic and eloquent. Its English version is as follows:

"When I am gone and my warnings are no longer heard, the craft and avarice of the white man will prevail. My heart fails me, when I think of my people so soon to be scattered and forgotten."

Hardly less touching than these words was the address of the late Chief Nathaniel Strong on December 29, 1863, before the Young Men's Christian Association at St. James Hall, Buffalo, from which the following is excerpted:

"I stand before you now in the last hours of a death-stricken people. A few summers ago our council fires lighted up the arches of the primeval wood which shadowed the spot where your city now stands. Its glades rang with the shouts of our hunters and the gleeful laugh of our maidens. The surface of yonder bay and river was seamed only by the feathery wake of our bark canoes. The smoke of our cabins curled skyward from slope and valley.

"To-night! to-night! I address you as an alien in the land of my fathers. I have no nation, no country, and, I might say, I have no kindred. All that we loved, and prized, and cherished, is yours. The land of the rushing river, the thundering cataract and the jeweled lakes is yours. All these broad blooming fields, those wooded hills and laughing valleys are yours—yours alone.

"I would I had the eloquence of Red Jacket that I might fitly speak of the wrongs and sorrows of my people. O, let your hearts be stirred with pity toward them, and when the spring violets blossom over my grave and that of the last of the Buffalo Senecas—as soon they will—let not our memory perish with us. . .

"There is one boon we ask of you. Gather up tenderly the bones of Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Young King, Pollard and their brother chieftains and bury them in yonder cemetery, where the plow of the husbandman will not invade their repose. There, in the sight of their own beautiful river, and under the shadow of the trees they loved so much, our sachems will sleep well.

"Within the limits of this city the great orator once said: 'But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great waters and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends—not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own friends for fear from wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them and granted their request, and they sat down amongst us. We gave them corn and meat.'

"Brothers of the pale race; we crave now, in our turn, but 'a small seat' in yonder domain of the dead!"

The address of Brig.-General Ely S. Parker at the commemorative exercises at Music Hall on October 9, 1884, is worthy the great Indian that he was, speaking as he did on that occasion as the representative of the Iroquois.

Other passages might be cited to show something of the spirit of those "whose council fires were here before ours," and the remains of whose possessions are rapidly disappearing from this and other parts of the State. The archives and publications of this Society contain much bearing on the life and history of the Senecas and

other nations of the Iroquois Confederacy and we are yearly adding thereto.

In the course of his address at Plattsburgh on July 7, 1909, on "The Iroquois and the struggle for America," the Honorable Elihu Root said:

"A century or more before the white settlement five Indian nations of the same stock and language, under the leadership of extraordinary political genius, had formed a confederacy for the preservation of internal peace and for common defense against external attack. Their territories extended in 1609 from the St. Lawrence to the Susquehanna; from Lake Champlain and the Hudson to the Genesee, and, a few years later, to the Niagara. There, dwelt side by side the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, in the firm union of Ho-de-no-sau-nee—the Long House of the Iroquois.

"The Algonquin tribes that surrounded them were still in the lowest stage of industrial life and for their food added to the spoils of the chase only wild fruits and roots. The Iroquois had passed into the agricultural stage. They had settled habitations and cultivated fields. They had extensive orchards of the apple, made sugar from the maple, and raised corn and beans and squash and pumpkins. The surrounding tribes had only the rudimentary political institution of chief and followers. The Iroquois had a carefully devised constitution well adapted to secure confederate authority in matters of common interest, and local authority in matters of local interest.

"Each nation was divided into tribes, the Wolf tribe, the Bear tribe, the Turtle tribe, etc. The same tribes ran through all the nations, the section in each nation being bound by ties of consanguinity to the sections of the same tribe in the other nations. Thus a Seneca Wolf was brother to every Mohawk Wolf, a Seneca Bear to every Mohawk Bear. The arrangement was like that of our college societies with chapters in different colleges. So there were bonds of tribal union running across the lines of national union; and the whole structure was firmly knit together as by the warp and woof of a textile fabric.

"The government was vested in a council of 50 sachems, a fixed number coming from each nation. The sachems from each nation came in fixed proportions from specific tribes in that nation; the office was hereditary in the tribe; and the member of the tribe to fill it was elected by the tribe.

"The sachems of each nation governed their own nation in all local affairs. Below the sachems were elected chiefs on the military side and Keepers of the Faith on the religious side. Crime was exceedingly rare; insubordination was unknown; courage, fortitude and devotion to the common good were universal.

"The territory of the Long House covered the watershed between the Saint Lawrence basin and the Atlantic. From it the waters ran into the Saint Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Ohio. Down these lines of communication the war parties of the confederacy passed, beating back or over-

whelming their enemies until they had become overlords of a vast region extending far into New England, the Carolinas, the valley of the Mississippi, and to the coast of Lake Huron.

"They held in subjection an area including the present States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, Northern Virginia and Tennessee, and parts of New England, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ontario. . . .

"Fortunately for England, between the two parties all along the controlling strategic line from this Lake Champlain to the gateway of the West at Fort Duquesne, stretched the barrier of the Long House and its tributary nations. They were always ready, always organized, always watchful. They continually threatened and frequently broke the great French military line of communication. Along the whole line they kept the French continually in jeopardy. Before the barrier the French built forts and trained soldiers—behind it the English cleared the forests and built homes and cultivated fields and grew to a great multitude, strong in individual freedom and in the practice of self-government. Again and again the French hurled their forces against the Long House, but always with little practical advantage. At one time De Tracy, the Viceroy, burned villages and laid waste the land of the Iroquois with 1,200 French soldiers. At another, La Barre, the Governor, with 1,800; at another, Denonville, with 2,000; at another, Frontenac with 600; still another, Frontenac with 1,000. Always there came also a cloud of Algonquin allies. Always the Iroquois retired and then returned, rebuilt their villages, replanted their fields, resumed their operations, and in their turn took ample revenge for their injuries."

It is unnecessary to quote further, or from others who have spoken of the functions of the Iroquois Confederacy in aiding the settlers of this territory in establishing its language, laws and institutions. That it became an English speaking population rather than one speaking the French language is due in no small degree to the Long House, which proved an impassable barrier to the invading Algonquins and their French allies, who took possession of the territory now comprised in the Province of Quebec. The French remained there in large numbers though its governmental control passed from France to Great Britain.

It will be remembered that the alliance of the Indians of the Province with the British continued during the Revolution, when under the leadership of Joseph Brant, Chief of the Mohawks, Walter Butler and others, inspired by such British subjects as Guy Johnson, Sir Guy Carlton and others, they devastated the farms and homes of the settlers, burnt their villages and in some instances butchered the inhabitants, who were loyal to the recommendations of the Continental Congress. All this, together with the carnage at Cherry Valley, Wyoming and elsewhere made a deep impression on the loyal



subjects of the colonies. These bloody incursions of the Tories and Indians of some of the Six Nations, and especially of the Senecas against the settlements along the Hudson and other rivers and in other parts of the colony, were so destructive of life and property that some organized force was necessary to check them. The Indians under Brant's leadership united with Barry St. Leger at Oswego, and fought with him at Oriskany. They had joined forces with Burgoyne on Lake Champlain and fought with him at Saratoga, and they continued to harrass and annoy loyal subjects everywhere until General Washington dispatched Major-General Sullivan with an organized force in 1779 against them. Their fields were laid waste, their homes made desolate and their villages reduced to ashes, so that little of their possessions remained in the territory east of the Niagara, through which the Sullivan expedition passed.

The Iroquois transmitted little to their successors other than their possessions and the names of places, lakes and rivers, as shown by William M. Beauchamp. Still their alliance, first with the Dutch and then with the British, prevented the territory comprised in the Province of New York, from permanent occupancy by the French. That prepared the way for the prevalence of Anglo-Saxon institutions of individual liberty, as now guaranteed by the Federal and State constitutions, and also largely determined individual ownership and rights of property. Members of this Society were interested in such places as the old Seneca Mission Cemetery located in the Buffalo Creek Reservation on the site of an old Indian circular fort, now in Seneca Park, and near it, the old Council House, the Mission Church, the home of Mary Jamison, and the Red Jacket cabin, while they remained standing. It is certain that the old Indian burial ground, recently given to the city by Mr. and Mrs. John D. Larkin, and known as the Seneca Park, will be spared, despite the extension of city improvements in that direction.

On May 30, 1905, this Society unveiled a headstone at the grave of Do-ne-ho-geh-weh, known to us as Brigadier-General Ely S. Parker, with appropriate exercises. Some of his letters, and his autobiography appear in volume VIII of the Society's Publications.

Such writings as those of James E. Seaver, Rev. Asher Wright, Ebenezer Mix and Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, on Mary Jamison—Deh-he-wa-mis—the white woman, who spent 78 years in captivity, throw much light on her life among the Senecas, where she married two Indian chiefs. Her narrative includes an account of the murder of her father and his family, her sufferings and something of Indian barbarities, customs and traditions.

This Society has always taken a deep interest in the Senecas, as evidenced by the activities of the late Orsamus H. Marshall, its president in 1870, of the late William C. Bryant, its president in 1876, the late Judge James Sheldon, its president in 1874, 1875 and 1886, the late Hon. William P. Letchworth, its president in 1878; and others, some of whom were instrumental in securing for the remains of Red Jacket and other distinguished chiefs, sepulchre in Forest Lawn Cemetery. They also in other ways did much to perpetuate in history something of the activities of the Senecas and the Iroquois Confederacy, an imaginative record of whose formation may be found in the Indian pageant "Hiawatha, the Ojibway," in the First Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission of 1909. Nor will it be forgotten that Mr. Letchworth acquired the ancient Council House of the Senecas, a building of hewed logs at Caneadea, in 1871, then falling into decay, removed it a distance of 18 miles to Glen Iris and re-erected it in that park, donated by Mr. Letchworth to the State where it is now preserved in its simplicity as the first parliament building of Western New York. On October 1, 1872, the Council fires were relighted in this famous Council House in its new and beautiful environment, a record of which may be found in the report thereof, made by Mr. Henry B. Howland, a member of the Board of Managers of this Society, contained in volume VI of the Society's Publications.

David Gray, an editor of the *Buffalo Courier*, was the poet on that occasion, and his beautiful poem entitled "The Last Indian Council on the Genesee" closes with the following stanza:

"Quenched is the fire; the drifting smoke
Has vanished in the autumn haze.
Gone, too, O Vale, the simple folk
Who loved thee in old days.
But, for their sakes—their lives serene,
Their loves, perchance as sweet as ours—
Oh, be thy woods for aye more green,
And fairer bloom thy flowers."

Shortly after this the log cabin, built by Mary Jemison, was transferred from the Gardeau Tract and placed near the Council House and her remains were taken from the Indian Mission burial-ground at Buffalo on March 7, 1874, and re-interred in a new grave between the old Council House and her log cabin in Glen Iris Park, where stands a bronze statue to Mary Jemison by the sculptor, Henry K. Bush-Brown, erected by Mr. Letchworth in September, 1910. I suggest that the Board of Managers visit Glen Iris Park during the coming summer, where brief exercises may be held in the



Old Parliament Council House, the arena of many an Indian oratorical contest.

The work of this Society has included many other activities. It has hitherto marked, and also coöperated with other associations in marking, historic places along the Niagara Frontier. It has also erected the Red Jacket monument and placed headstones in Forest Lawn on the Red Jacket plot.

Volume XVI of its Publications, known as "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," contains nearly 500 illustrations, principally of buildings in this vicinity, most of which have disappeared. Some of them were historic spots, as the Seneca Mission House, still standing on Buffam Street, the Wilkeson mansion on Niagara Square, the Johnson Cottage on Delaware Avenue, the Fillmore residence and others. The collection and publication in one volume of the illustrations of so many buildings and views of old Buffalo has attracted wide attention and has been a service to the people of this city of enduring historic value. Succeeding generations of its citizens will prize these more and more as time goes on and their outlines fade into the dim haze of indistinct mental pictures. Many of these have already passed out of memory.

The seventeen volumes of Publications issued by the Society contain unique reproductions of many papers of almost priceless historic value, either owned by the Society, or loaned to it for publication and distribution to its members. It is the aim of its Board of Managers to publish on the average one additional volume a year, which volumes are distributed gratuitously to all members in good standing. A course of instructive and entertaining lectures, mostly illustrated, is also provided for the members, who are thus amply rewarded for their moderate annual dues.

The lectures have been well attended, notwithstanding that other attractions have occasionally occurred elsewhere in the city on the evenings when our lectures are given. I think all who have heard them, will agree that they have been edifying and entertaining, though they were not limited to the discussion or presentation of matters of local history. These matters are covered more in formal papers and occasional addresses, and require closer concentration of thought on the part of the listeners than is expected in a course of popular lectures. The time has already come when it is quite the fashion to convey the truths of history through the drama and works of fiction, and still more realistically through pageantry, as was done a few years since at Warwick, England, and at Quebec, Canada, and recently at St. Louis, Missouri, and



last September at Plattsburgh in our own State. The effectiveness of this manner of presenting historical facts might be questioned, but such historians as the late Justice Winsor, the editor of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," and others make frequent use of illustration by way of reproducing, so far as possible, pictures of all forms of historical material, that admit of representation by pictures, illustrations and prints of various kinds. This is apparent from the illuminating illustrations found in such works as "Records of the Past." We all appreciate more and more the value and directness of information received through the sense of sight, in such a case as the impression made upon one by good photographs of antique temples and arches, inscriptions on structures of various kinds, and reproductions of coins, facsimile pages of manuscripts, and views of buildings, statuary, paintings, and other works of art.

Even Macaulay did not approve of judging the past by a reference to it alone, but suggested that the events narrated might be illustrated, and in this way be given a force and setting they might not otherwise have. This is still more apparent, when we consider modern methods of research in historical pursuits. The historian, quite as truly as the scientist, must be a specialist. He must analyze before he can synthesize, and this with infinite patience and discernment. He must know facts in all their ramifications, before he is warranted in deducing results and forming conclusions. The careless, and I might say almost reckless, methods of many writers on historical subjects, prior to the Nineteenth Century, rendered their productions confusing and almost worthless. Some of them were little more than allegories. The last half of the Nineteenth Century ended the apotheosis of the philosophy of history. When dramatic creations to impersonate the miraculous intervention of Providence in the exegesis of human events gave way before the intense light of research into the foundations of the science of history, many of the monumental productions of those writers on historical subjects, who drew more largely from their imagination, than from facts underlying and shaping the social forces of the world, ceased to have any compelling influence over the activities of explorers, thinkers and writers, who were tracing effects back to their causes in the pursuits of research work, such as that of various exploration societies into the mounds and ruins of the great cities of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor, the Isles of the Mediterranean, and elsewhere. Generalization based on vague and uncertain conclusions gave way before an array of

facts brought to light through specialized efforts by keen discerners of the truth in all departments of history, which must be largely rewritten in the light of disclosures being made the world over.

The founders of this Society had this in view when they limited its activities to research and other historical work along the Niagara Frontier and the commerce tributary thereto, and did not extend its scope into the domain of general history. For half a century it has been so occupied, and still there remains much more to be done, and will as long as this city continues its growth in ways that augment historical data, and as its activities increase in different directions.

Allusion has already been made to the Society's Publications, devoted largely to the journals of explorers, traders, settlers and military expeditions into this region. Hardly a year passes in which there do not come here several assemblages of men representing various branches of business, the liberal and applied arts, governmental and diplomatic commissions, and thousands of tourists from all parts of this and other countries to visit Niagara Falls, to view its electrical development, and to tour up or down the Great Lakes, all contributing something to the upbuilding of this city, and taking from us some of its life to infuse into the life of the nation. Fortunately for us, the Historical Society is one of the objective points usually visited by all comers. They are attracted by the artistic design of this marble building and its superb environment; and once within its gates, they become interested in its archives and collections, and its spacious proportions and its adaptability to the pursuit of historical work. The impression it leaves upon all comers, so far as I am advised, is favorable and enduring. Thus the building and its uses are becoming widely known. This society occupies a unique position among the historical societies in this country, pursuing in their respective fields of activity, work of a somewhat similar character. And this leads me to remark that there is a growing interest in such historical work as we are conducting, all over the country. Hundreds of historical societies have been formed in America to preserve and perpetuate its history. They are doing largely specialized work, which is of the highest importance in determining the social forces and fundamental principles, which represent the opinions of successive generations that have been translated into action, into law, and into governmental institution.

Investigation of conditions and the study of institutions, led Abraham Lincoln, endowed, as he was, with the qualities of a great reasoner, to definite conclusions in relation to human slavery. Later

he was able to secure their enactment into statute and constitutional law, which did away with slavery and all its evils in this Republic. His conclusions largely prepared the way for the amendments to the Constitution of the United States to insure its citizens in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. Thus are opinions translated into permanency and thus do they become the principles upon which government rests. The historian must therefore give due consideration to all such formative forces in the evolution of human institutions.

The importance of a right understanding of such institutions in such a democracy as this cannot be over-estimated; especially important in these large centers of population, where societies like this are actively engaged, are the collection, preservation and dissemination of historical information in relation to the foundation of our government.

During the past year your President was appointed by Governor Martin H. Glynn, a member of the Plattsburgh Centenary Commission, and has since served in that capacity. It may be of interest to know that the Plattsburgh Centenary celebration was second only to the Perry celebration in Buffalo in 1913. It was hardly less elaborate, and possibly more devoted to the literature of the War of 1812, than was the Perry celebration. The exercises continued from September 6th to September 11th, in the city of Plattsburgh, New York and in the city of Vergennes, Vermont. They were attended by the Governors of the states of New York and Vermont; the Secretary of the Navy; Admiral Clark; and Sir Charles P. Davidson, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec; Justice William R. Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario; ex-Judge Wallace Nesbitt of Toronto; Hon. Robert C. Smith of Montreal; the grand-children of Thomas Macdonough and of General Alexander Macomb, and by many distinguished citizens of the states of New York and Vermont, and other New England states, with a brigade of the Regular Army in command of Colonel W. A. Mann. Elaborate pageants, produced on three or more occasions, were participated in by 1200 people, largely the descendants of the generation that occupied Clinton County at the time of the Battle of Plattsburgh in September, 1814. These included 20 or more historical episodes of events occurring in and about Plattsburgh from the time of the discovery of Lake Champlain in 1609, down to and subsequent to the Battle of Plattsburgh.

In the *North American Review* for August, 1914, will be found an article by the late Rear Admiral A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., on

"Commodore Macdonough at Plattsburgh," which was written at the request of the Plattsburgh Centenary Commission, and the last contribution on that subject by the Admiral before his death. It is well worthy of careful perusal by members of this Society, not only on account of the light it throws on the naval engagement on Lake Champlain, but also on account of the information it contains in relation to the movement of troops along the Niagara Frontier, and Commodore Perry's Victory on Lake Erie.

The literary exercises at the Plattsburgh Centenary on September 11th, 1914, were presided over by the Hon. Francis Lynde Stetson of New York, chairman of the Commission, and included addresses by Governor Martin H. Glynn, Secretary Josephus Daniels of the Navy, President John H. Thomas of Middlebury College, who was the principal orator for the occasion, and a poem by Percy Mackaye. In the evening a banquet was given at the new Hotel Champlain at Bluff Point, to about 500 guests; and the post-prandial exercises, presided over by Chairman Stetson, included addresses by Governor Glynn, Secretary Daniels, Hon. Thomas F. Conway, vice-chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Riddell, Hon. R. C. Smith, and others. Nearly all the speakers emphasized the Centenary of Peace and all the amenities that had come to the two nations as a result of it.

At Riverside Cemetery floral wreaths were laid on the graves of American soldiers and marines by Sir Charles B. Davidson and on the grave of Captain George Downie, by Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie. Both the formal address of Sir Charles P. Davidson as well as that of Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, were touching tributes to the valor of those who lost their lives in the naval and land engagement, but they laid special emphasis on the hundred years of peace that followed and the importance of its continuance.

A short address was made at the site of Fort Moreau by Col. Charles G. Morton, giving an account of the land engagement and the position of the contending forces. There were other exercises, but of a less historical character.

Exercises were held at Vergennes under the auspices of the Macdonough Commission of Vermont on September 6th, 7th and 8th. These were of an historical character. On September 6th, these were presided over by Rev. L. A. Vezina, when Rodney Macdonough, grandson of Commodore Thomas Macdonough, delivered an address on the life of the Commodore. Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont also delivered a formal address on that occasion. On Monday, September 7th, there were a naval parade and water carnival, under the direction of the Champlain Yacht Club, when the Commis-

sioners, speakers and guests were conveyed from Vergennes to the site of Fort Cassin at the mouth of Otter Creek, where formal exercises were held, presided over by Governor Allen M. Fletcher. Addresses were made by the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Joseph A. De Boer, of Montpelier, and the historical address was made by your President, Henry W. Hill, who took for his subject "Otter Creek in History." The celebration also included exercises on the following day at Vergennes, presided over by Governor Fletcher, at which Senator Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, Secretary Daniels of the Navy, Rev. John P. Chadwick of the Plattsburgh Commission and others spoke. These were followed in the evening by a banquet, presided over by Judge Frank L. Fish of the Macdonough Commission. The post-prandial exercises included addresses by Secretary Daniels, Congressman Frank L. Greene, Congressman Frank I. Plumley and others. The exercises at Plattsburgh and Vergennes were well attended.

The Government of the United States has appropriated \$125,000, toward a monument to be erected to Commodore Thomas Macdonough, in the vicinity of Plattsburgh, and \$15,000, toward a monument to the Commodore at Vergennes. The site and character of both of these are under consideration at the present time, and your president is on the sub-committee to make recommendations with reference to the former.

The Perry celebration along Lake Erie and the Plattsburgh Centenary celebration brought out clearly the important and decisive naval engagements that largely determined the War of 1812, and prepared the way for the Treaty of Ghent, concluded on December 24, 1814. It is proposed to commemorate the centenary of the ratification of this treaty by exercises in the educational institutions of the city to be held on February 17, 1915, that being the hundredth anniversary of its ratification by the United States Senate. A committee, of which your president is chairman, is now engaged in preparing a programme for the use of colleges, academies, public and private schools. This will be made the occasion of papers and brief addresses on the *casus belli*, the matters considered by the Commissioners, the conclusions reached by them and the benefits to both nations of a century of peace.

It will be remembered that Buffalo had been laid waste during that war and that the Niagara Frontier had suffered quite as much as any part of the United States. The Treaty of Peace was welcome news to the people of Western New York. It was followed in 1817 by a treaty negotiated by Richard Rush, acting Secretary

of State on the part of the United States, and Charles Bagot, Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on behalf of Great Britain, which limited the naval force on the Northern Lakes, allowed to the United States and Great Britain each only one vessel of 100 tons, armed with one 18-pound cannon on Lake Ontario, to two vessels of like size and armament on the Upper Lakes and to one vessel of like size and armament on Lake Champlain; all other vessels were to be immediately disarmed. That was ratified by the United States and Great Britain and put into operation by the proclamation of President Monroe on April 28, 1818. Since that time fortifications along the frontier have disappeared and the commerce of the Great Lakes has grown to the extraordinary volume of one hundred million of tons annually, and perfect freedom of intercourse between the two nations exists along the frontier from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Thus is verified the statement that

"Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than war."

Who shall estimate what this century of peace has contributed to Buffalo and to its growth from the ashes of 1813 to the second city of the Empire State and the second largest commercial inland port in the world? It is well that the present and rising generation, especially of this city, pause in their activities long enough to consider and ponder over what they may owe to this century of peace between the two great English speaking nations, across whose unfortified boundary extending from ocean to ocean, they and all others similarly situated along the frontier may pass and repass as freely, as the citizens of one State across the boundary into another State.

This Society has greatly profited thereby and has enriched its library, archives and collections by many additions thereto from Canadian sources.

During the past year the Society has lost several of its active members, including Mr. Robert R. Hefford, one of the oldest and most attentive members of its Board of Managers. His genial presence is sadly missed by his colleagues. His long and valuable services as one of the administrative officers of this Society cannot be overestimated.

A list of all the members, deceased during the year, will appear in the report of the Secretary, which is to follow. It is important that the membership be increased to sustain the organization in its work and to maintain popular interest in its activities, which are largely supported from the annual dues from its members. These

dues are put to the very best possible use in carrying forward its publications and in maintaining its lecture course. I hope that many new members may be secured during the coming year. The condition of its financial affairs will appear from the treasurer's report that is to follow.

In closing I take this occasion to express publicly to my associates in the Board of Managers my deep appreciation of their services and support during the past year. The regular monthly meetings and the special meetings have been well attended and the affairs of the Society have been administered in a thoroughly business-like and economical manner. It has necessarily involved personal sacrifice on the part of each member of the Board, who has devoted such time and consideration to the affairs of this Society, as were necessary. It is a public service, however, and its rewards are in the satisfaction of such work well done.

Following President Hill's address, Mr. Frank H. Severance, Secretary-Treasurer, submitted his annual report as follows:

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1914.

Mr. President, Members of the Society:

I have the honor to submit herewith a report on the state of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1914.

It may be prefaced with the assurance that the institution is flourishing, is carefully and economically administered, and that its activities tend to increase.

What promised to be an active participation in the Peace Centenary has been cut short by the Great War; but special recognition of regional events connected with the Peace Centenary will be made in the next volume of our Publications.

Building. The principal work on the building during the year was the painting and calcimining of ceilings. Two ventilators were placed on the roof, connecting with the attic and museum, with good result. Some repairs to gutters and copper roof-work were also made. Outside mahogany doors were redressed. An extensive renewal of electric lamps is desirable, and is now in the hands of a committee. The engineer advises some slight changes in steam pipes and connections. This matter will be presented to the Board of Managers at its next meeting.

We are still troubled with basement dampness, especially at the change of seasons. Though not so aggravated as in earlier years, it remains a problem to be met. The installation of a small

boiler, so that a slight degree of heat can be maintained when the larger heating plant is shut down would probably dry out the rooms where there is now, in late spring and early summer, much condensation and dampness. This matter will also shortly be submitted to the Board.

The secretary recommends that when weather permits, the fence surrounding the old soldiers' burying ground at Williamsville, owned by this Society, be adequately repaired or replaced with a new one.

Membership. The active membership of the Society shows a slight increase during the year, 30 new members being received, one of which was a life member. It will probably be necessary during the coming year to drop a number for non-payment of dues. An unusual number have failed to make any response to our repeated requests during the year past.

Our losses by death during the year 1914 were as follow:

January	3—Frederick C. Busch, M. D.....	Resident member
February	1—Gen. James Grant Wilson.....	Honorary member
"	3—Charles F. Bingham.....	Resident member
"	4—Dr. Ray V. Pierce.....	Resident member
"	15—Roswell Park, M. D.....	Resident member
March	21—Trueman G. Avery.....	Life member
"	22—Miss Martha J. F. Murray.....	Resident member
"	26—Philos G. Cook.....	Resident member
"	30—George W. White.....	Life member
April	13—Hon. Charles W. Hinson.....	Resident member
October	7—Henry C. Ladd.....	Resident member
"	7—Robert R. Hefford.....	Resident member
"	22—William A. King.....	Resident member
November	17—Benjamin R. Ellis.....	Resident member
"	23—William Johnson.....	Resident member
December	6—Spencer Clinton.....	Resident member
"	16—Frank W. Fiske.....	Resident member

Several of these were long-time friends, for years active and interested in the work of the Society. Mr. Hefford had been a member of the Board of Managers for six years and his loss is much felt by his associates in that body.

Museum. The museum has made substantial progress, due largely to the continued interest and liberality of Mr. Wm. A. Galpin. He has greatly added to his collections, especially of historical engravings, and has made a special collection of portraits of celebri-

ties accompanied by their autographs. This proves of much interest to visitors.

Lieut. John Winn, chief boatswain, U. S. N., retired, has given us many relics of the Navy, of our war with Spain, weapons from the Philippines, etc. Others whose gifts merit special mention include: The trustees of the Blocher Homes, who gave us a large album filled with portraits of prominent men and women of Buffalo, a collection formed by the late John Blocher; the estate of the late Dr. Roswell Park; Mr. Edward Menge, a collection of early Buffalo views, formed by the late Victor Tiphaine, and other relics; Col. Chas. O. Shepard, numerous documents and souvenirs of his consular service abroad; Chas. A. Orr, Grand Army portraits and souvenirs; Mrs. Robt. D. Young and Mr. George Abbott, Hamburg, miscellaneous and Civil War relics. Mr. D. M. Silver has added to his Indian collection a fine stone mortar; and many others have given sundry welcome articles, all properly recorded and preserved.

For the better display of some of our collections, new cases are needed. The question of room will soon seriously confront us; not only in the museum, but in the library.

Library. During the year there were added to the catalogued collection 722 books, including bound pamphlets. Most of the accessions were gifts. The most important purchases were from the Marshall library, sold at auction in New York in March. Aside from this, the buying for the year has been confined to publications in various periods and phases of our local and regional history and to Buffalo imprints, with a few genealogies and New England histories, and a continuation of historical periodicals of which we preserve files.

The secretary has been at some pains to secure whenever opportunity has offered, Buffalo-printed books and pamphlets, deeming them an essential part of such a library as this. We are gathering material which will enable him to continue the bibliography of early Buffalo imprints which he published in 1903, bringing it, if not to date, at least to the close of the 19th century.

During the year past he has completed a bibliography of Buffalo periodicals, from 1811 to date. The form of publication is now under advisement. It may prove best to make a separate volume of it, in which form it would have a value, as regards the history of Buffalo journalism, comparable to the very popular "Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," issued by this Society in 1912.

Publications. Early in the year volume XVII of the Society's Publications was issued. Volume XVIII, now nearly ready for the

binder, will be ready for distribution in a few weeks. It contains among other things a group of papers on peace episodes in the Niagara region. Some 75 pages are devoted to a narrative of the mediation conference in behalf of Mexico, held in May and June at Niagara Falls, Ont. Other features will include: Unpublished documents of the War of 1812; and an exceedingly rare pamphlet relating to the Holland Land Co., printed in French at Basle in 1803, now for the first time published in English.

The secretary hopes to complete, within the next few months, the narrative history of the Lower Lakes and Niagara region under the French, which he has long had in preparation. The character of the work makes it highly desirable, in his judgment, to have it issued, if arrangements can be made, by some publishing house which has facilities for placing it on the market. Heretofore the Society has had its books printed at local offices, and has been its own publisher; all things considered, with fair success. But to give the work in question a publicity and currency in keeping with its character, recourse should be had to the equipment, experience and facilities of a well-established and widely-known publisher. To meet a somewhat similar situation, the Chicago Historical Society has ceased being its own publisher, its books being now issued by the University Press of Chicago. Buffalo has no publishing house equipped for such work; and the suggestion is here made that the time has come to seek a broader field for our publications, through a metropolitan publisher, if advantageous arrangements can be made.

Donors of books were: Rev. Geo. N. Newman, Mrs. Robt. D. Young, Mr. M. A. G. Meads, Jewett Halbert, Miss Grace Manchester, Mrs. E. B. Alvord, Wm. A. Galpin, Wm. G. Justice, Lucius F. Pratt, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Henry R. Howland, E. B. Pratt, Carlton R. Perrine, W. Sheldon Bull, Gen. Edgar B. Jewett, P. F. Piper, Frederick C. Wood, D. M. Silver, Miss Mary E. Walker, Mr. Julian Park, Buffalo; Mr. Abraham Wakeman, New York City; Prof. Mary A. Willcox, Wellesley, Mass.; Wm. Steward, Bridgton, N. J.; Hudson Maxim, Landing, N. J.; Lucian Lamar Knight, Atlanta, Ga.

Much valuable material has been secured by exchange, not only from other institutions which send their publications, but especially, by exchange of duplicates, from the Bureau of Railway Economics, Washington; the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; and the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

The final disposition of the Marshall library occurred in March. The story of these books properly belongs to the records of this

Society. The gradual gathering of his library by Orsamus H. Marshall, was one of the pleasures of his life and continued through many years. He was not, however, a collector, as many men of wealth are, seeking only the choicest possible examples of rare books. He was a student and gathered material likely to help him in his studies. Thus it happened that the library left at his death to his son Charles D. Marshall, although containing more than 10,000 volumes, was not in any department of literature notable for its choice copies of rare books.

In 1909, some months after the sudden death of Charles D. Marshall, most of the books were sold at auction in the Marshall homestead on Main street. Prior to the sale, by permission of the executor and of Mrs. Koerner, heir to the property, the Grosvenor Library and the Historical Society were authorized to take from the collection quantities of books suitable to their needs. For the Historical Society, the secretary selected about 1,100 items, books and maps. These were transferred to the Historical Building and marked with a special label designating their source. The Society was assured at the time, that Mr. Charles D. Marshall's intention, often stated to his friends, of giving the books to the Historical Society, would ultimately be carried out by his heir. The collection, therefore, as briefly stated on the book label, was received and regarded as a memorial to Orsamus H. and Charles D. Marshall. The attorney for the estate informed us that an outright gift at that time could not be made. The books, however, were carefully guarded from the date of their receipt in the summer of 1909.

In the autumn of 1913, without any previous indication of a change of mind, the owner suddenly demanded the delivery of the books to a New York auction house. Those who felt they had influence in the matter undertook to change this decision, but without effect. On October 30, 1913, the books were boxed and shipped to New York and on March 16, 17, and 18, 1914, were sold at public auction.

The Historical Society authorized its secretary to attend and procure such items as in his judgment it was advisable to buy.

The sale presented several curious features. The fluent auctioneer, speaking, evidently, with none too thorough a knowledge, referred to the collection as "exceptionally choice" and as having been the property of the "former law partner of Millard Fillmore"! The catalogue, although it called attention to the imperfections of many of the items, was by no means exhaustive in this respect. Most of the bidders, however, at the sales were astute and well-informed dealers.

They had, moreover, personally examined the more interesting of the items, so that when the sale began there was little misapprehension of the very defective character of many items which, had they been perfect, would have been eagerly sought for by institutions or other collectors.

Included among the Marshall books were 83 lots from another source. These were, for the most part, superior in quality and brought excellent prices. It is a theory of the auction room, that sometimes a little leaven raises the whole lump; in other words, that common-place books may be boosted to a better sale if scattered among them are numerous choice items. However true the theory, it was not conspicuously successful in this sale. In the phrase of the stock market, the selling was "freakish," so that while the Hennepins and the Jesuit Relations sold at low prices, one item, *Le Clercq's "Premier Etablissement de la Foy"* brought the record price of \$850.

The Marshall copy of this rare work, although perfect as to text, lacked the 12 pages of publications which originally appeared at the end of the work. For the fastidious collector, of unlimited purse, this was a great detraction from its value. What it would have brought had it included the missing leaves, one can only conjecture; but one of America's greatest dealers stated that in his judgment it would have realized at least fifteen hundred dollars.

Your secretary had cherished hopes of securing it and shared in the bidding until it passed the hundred-dollar mark; remembering then that he was drawing on funds not exactly unlimited and that he was supposed to be acting within his judgment, he checked his mad career and saw the rarity disappear in the wild flight, followed by joyous dealers.

Bearing in mind the desirability of securing for our library items which should prove of use to those who visit the institution, as well as being in a small way a memorial of the Messrs. Marshall, your secretary's purchases were chiefly confined to books and maps which he knew would practically supplement material already in the library. A few interesting manuscripts were also secured. The most valuable item which he bought was a collection of 35 rare maps, gathered by the elder Marshall in his visits to Paris and elsewhere during many years. The collection was secured on the secretary's bid of \$85. One other useful collection of early maps was also bid in at a very modest figure.

ENTERTAINMENTS OF 1914.

Numerous clubs, and classes from the public and parochial schools were welcomed at the Building during the year. Free lec-

tures will be provided, in connection with the work of the schools, at any time when suitable arrangements can be made.

The course of evening entertainments arranged for our members proved exceptionally interesting. Within the calendar year just closed the following were given:

- Jan. 20. Illustrated lecture:—"Our National Parks,"
Mr. Nat M. Brigham
- Feb. 12. Illustrated lecture:—"Everywhere with Lincoln,"
Rev. Henry R. Rose
- Feb. 19. Illustrated lecture:—"A Dante Pilgrimage in Italy,"
Mrs. George H. Camehl
- March 2. Illustrated lecture:—"Athens and the Revival of
Hellenism in Greece".....Dr. Jerome Hall Raymond
- March 24. Illustrated lecture:—"Switzerland, the Triumph of
Democracy".....Dr. Jerome Hall Raymond
- April 7. Historical address:—"The Niagara Region and the
Peace Centenary".....Frank H. Severance
- Oct. 20. Illustrated lecture:—"For King, Country and
Empire".....Mr. Frank Yeigh
- Nov. 10. Dickens recital, humorous and dramatic.....
Mr. E. S. Williamson
- Nov. 24. Illustrated travel talk:—"An American Woman in
Iceland".....Mrs. Jerome Hall Raymond
- Dec. 17. Illustrated historical lecture:—"Napoleon".....
Mr. B. R. Baumgardt

In June, as usual for some years past, the annual commencement exercises of Public School No. 21 were held at the Historical Building.

Various Activities. Our miscellaneous activities, including lectures for the schools and various clubs, and participation in the work of state and national organizations, have continued, as in recent years. We were represented at the annual meetings of the New York State Historical Association, the Ontario Historical Society, the American Association of Museums and the American Historical Association. Several members of the society represented it at the Lundy's Lane Centenary celebration, July 25th; and three of them, the Hon. Peter A. Porter, Mr. Geo. D. Emerson, and the Secretary, shared in the programme of exercises.

Among the historical institutions of the country, the Buffalo Historical Society holds today a creditable place. Outside of Buffalo, in the colleges, libraries and historical societies, we are best known by our series of Publications, of which 13 carefully-edited volumes have been sent forth since 1902, when the present secretary took up the work. If the society values a reputation in this line of

achievement, we cannot do better than to continue it, with such raising of the standard as we are able to accomplish. The opportunity for continued research, within the geographic field which is properly ours, is so vast as to be practically boundless. No worker now living can exhaust it. In one sense, we are rarely fortunate in having at hand, recognized and awaiting our study, so rich and unexploited a field.

While this phase of our work is by no means unrecognized in Buffalo, it is natural that in our home city we should also be widely known by the free historical library we are building up, by the museum and lectures which contribute to the pleasure—we trust also, the edification—of members and the public at large.

If we are to progress in these activities, the time is not far distant when we must face the problem of enlarging the building. The library is now crowded, and better facilities are desired for those who use it, among them not a few special students who come to us from other cities and colleges. The museum cannot for long be worthily added to without more room; and the lecture room is often inadequate for the attendance.

The removal of these drawbacks, the agreement with the city for space in which to extend the two ends of our building, east and west, and the provision of a fund with which to build larger, in keeping with its present classic and dignified lines, are matters respectfully suggested for the consideration of the officers and the membership of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Messrs. Andrew Langdon, L. L. Lewis, Jr., Frank M. Hollister, Frank H. Severance and George A. Stringer, were reelected members of the Board of Managers for the ensuing term of four years.

President Hill spoke at some length on the great desirability of erecting in Buffalo a suitable memorial to Governor DeWitt Clinton; and expressed the wish that the Historical Society might be identified with such an undertaking.

On motion of Mr. Stringer, seconded by Mr. Hollister, it was voted that the president, at his convenience, name a suitable committee, of which Mr. Hill shall be chairman, to give further consideration to the matter. The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL ELECTION.

At the annual meeting of the Board of Managers, January 14, 1915, the officers of the past year were reelected, as follows: President, Hon. Henry W. Hill; vice-president, Charles B. Wilson; secretary and treasurer, Frank H. Severance.

THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

In 1879, after an existence of seventeen years, the Buffalo Historical Society issued its first volume of Publications. Its available material consisted of historical papers which had been read at Society meetings, and of letters and other documents gathered in its archives. A publication committee, consisting of Orsamus H. Marshall, E. S. Hawley and the Rev. A. T. Chester, D. D., in conjunction with Messrs. Bigelow Brothers, publishers, issued a prospectus inviting subscriptions, and were encouraged by the response to undertake the work, which was issued in parts, at twenty-five cents a number. Completed, Volume I gave such satisfaction that in 1880 Volume II was issued in like manner. Both volumes were edited by the Rev. Albert Bigelow, Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The work in all respects was admirably done. The two volumes, containing upwards of eight hundred pages, soon became scarce, have long been out of print and now command a high price whenever by chance copies are offered for sale. They are not esteemed too highly, for they contain records of early Buffalo, Erie Canal papers, memoirs of pioneers and reminiscences of various early phases of life on the Niagara frontier, of real importance to the student but nowhere else preserved.

Nothing more was attempted by way of publication until 1885, when the reburial by the Society of the remains of Red Jacket and other prominent men of the Seneca Nation seemed to call for some printed record beside newspaper reports. Volume III was accordingly prepared, chiefly, it is understood, by Mr. George G. Barnum, then librarian for the Society. It was designated as "Transactions, volume three," but as the preceding volumes were marked "Publications," and as no separate series of "Transactions" has been undertaken, this book is regarded as volume three of the Publications series.

In 1896, at the request of the Society, the present editor (not then actively connected with the institution), prepared Volume IV. It was not, however, until 1902 that the regular issuance of volumes was undertaken. Since that date fifteen volumes have been published, the present volume being number nineteen of the series.

Volumes I and II—long out of print—deal chiefly with the early history of Buffalo and the Great Lakes, early transportation and the War of 1812. Volume III relates wholly to the Seneca Indians, especially Red Jacket. Volumes IV to IX contain scores of papers on various phases of Western New York history. Volumes X and XI contain a Life of Millard Fillmore, with his speeches and correspondence. Volume XII is a "History of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State," by Henry Wayland Hill, LL.D., president of the Historical Society. Volumes XIII and XIV relate to canal enlargement, the Holland Land Company, journals of early travel, etc. Volume XV, "Studies of the Niagara Frontier," by Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Society, presents the literary, artistic and scientific aspect of the Niagara Falls region. Volume XVI, "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," by the same author, contains over 400 engravings, with descriptive text. Vol. XVII is especially valuable for its hitherto unpublished documents of the War of 1812. It also contains a full account of the semi-centennial of the Buffalo Historical Society. Vol. XVIII, entitled "Peace Episodes on the Niagara," contains a history of the peace conference in behalf of Mexico, held at Niagara Falls, Ont., in 1914; the story of other peace episodes; contributions to the history of the War of 1812, etc.

Following is a more detailed account of the several volumes and a list of the principal contents of each:

VOL. I. 1879.

8vo. pp. 486. Illustrations and maps. But very few copies procurable for sale.

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THE BUFFALO COMMON SCHOOLS	Oliver G. Steele
THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE IN BUFFALO	Crisfield Johnson

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DEATH OF JOB HOISINGTON (Poem)	Elder A. Turner
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VOL. III. 1885.

Svo. pp. 119. Frontispiece and cut. Issued as "Transactions" but forming Vol. III of the Publications Series. Price, postpaid, \$1.00.

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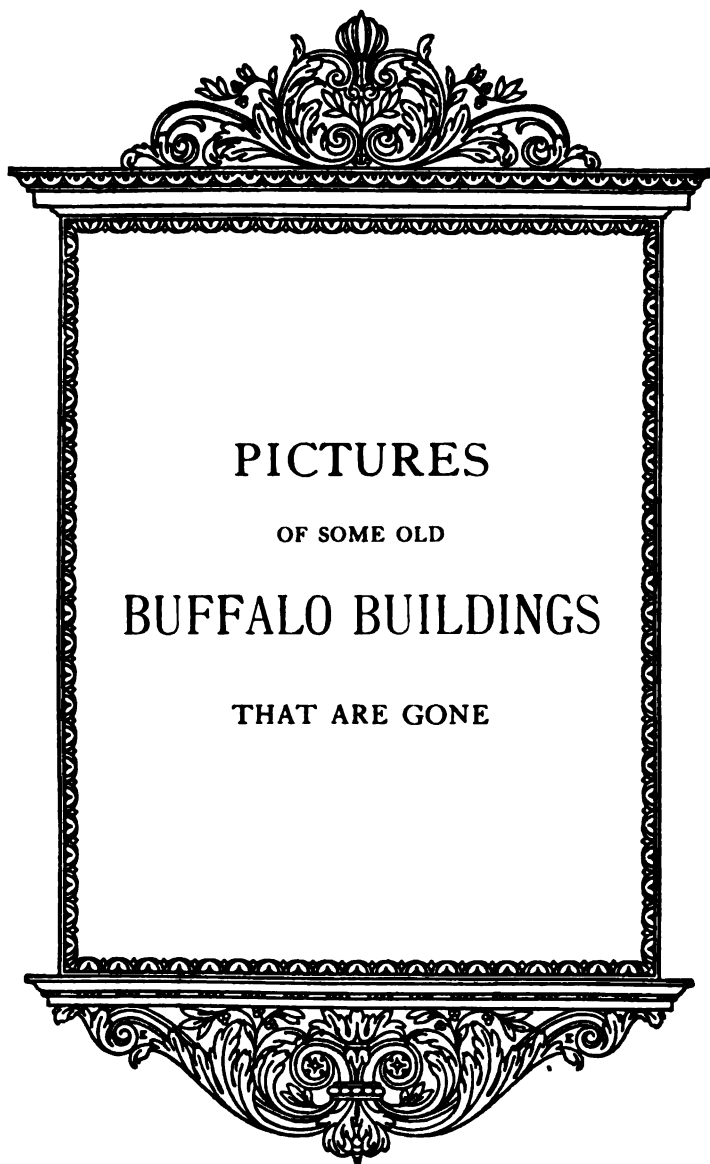
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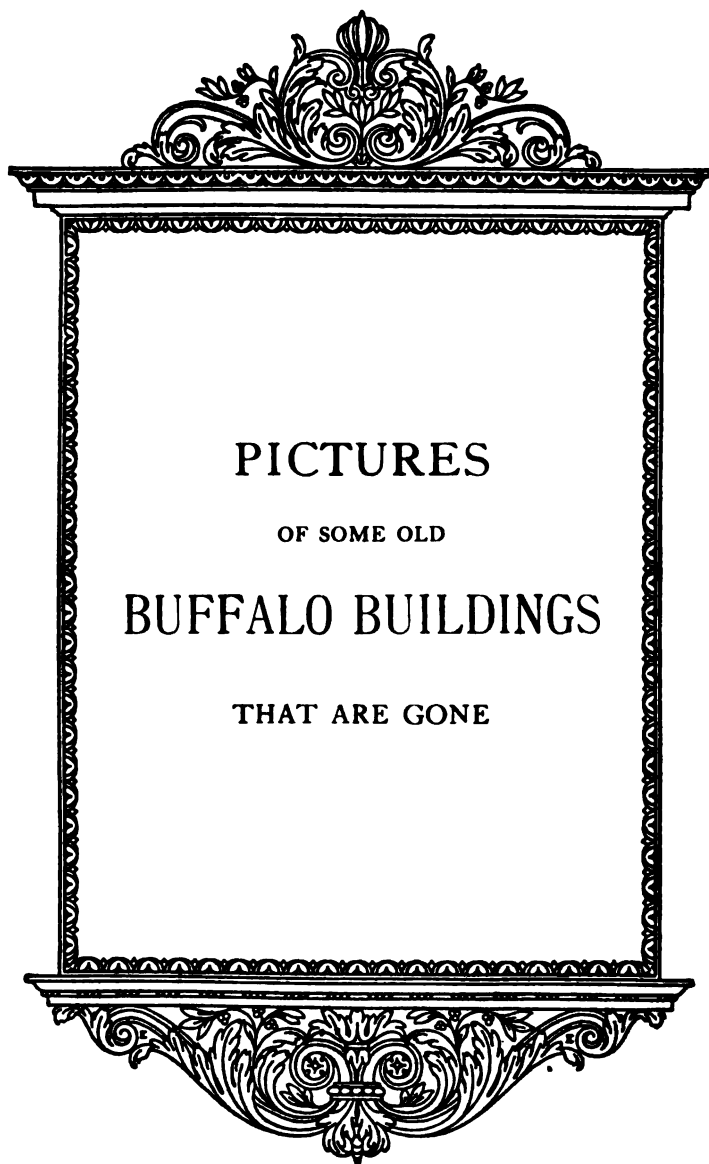
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THE WILKESON HOMESTEAD, NIAGARA SQUARE. BUILT, 1824; TORN DOWN, 1915
The original house was the middle part. the wings being added in 1860.

